Gal 6 Q.c.

MISCELLANEOUS

WORKS

OF

DWARD GIBBON, Esquire.

WITH

EMOIRS OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS,

COMPOSED BY HIMSELF:

LUSTRATED FROM HIS LETTERS.

WITH OCCASIONAL NOTES AND NARRATIVE,

BY JOHN LORD SHEFFIELD.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

SEVENTH VOLUME.

ANSLATIONS.

A *Collection* of *Remarks*, and *Detached Pieces* on different Subjects,

N°. Page 1

1. An Inquiry whether a Catalogue of the Armies ſent into the Field is an eſſential Part of an Epic Poem, *ib.*
2. An Examination of the Catalogue of Silius Italicus, 6
3. A minute Examination of Horace's Journey to Brunduſium, and of Cicero's Journey into Cilicia, 8
4. On the Faſti of Ovid, 26
5. A Diſſertation on the Subject of Medals, 30
6. An Account of a Letter addreſſed to Cocchi, by Chevalier L. G. Aretino, reſpecting ſome Tranſactions in the Ciſalpine Gallic War. A. U. C. 529, 33
7. Upon the *Triumphs* of the *Romans*, 42
8. An Account of a MS. by the Abbé G. V. Gravina, *Del Governo Civile* di Roma, 77

Eſſay on the *Study* of *Literature*, 79

Letter from Mr. *Gibbon* to Mr. *Langer*, 143

Notes, 147

1. Note to the *Preface of the Firſt Volume*, *ib.*
2. Notes to the *Memoirs*, *ibid.*
3. —— to the *Letters*, 182
4. Note to the *Preface of the Third Volume*, 185

CONTENTS.

5. Notes to the *Extraits Raiſonnés de mes Lectures*, Page 1
6. —— to the *Extracts from the Journal*, 1
7. —— to the *Remarks and detached Pieces*, 1
8. —— to the *Eſſay ſur l'Etude de la Littérature*, 1
9. —— to the *Critical Obſervations on the Deſign of the Sixth Book of the Æneid*, 2
10. —— to the *Vindication of the Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall*, 2
11. Note to the Addreſs, &c. 2
12. Tranſlation of the Notes, 2
13. Index, 2

A COLLECTIO

VOL.

A COLLECTION OF MY REMARKS, AND DETACHED PIECES, ON DIFFERENT SUBJECTS.

N° I.

23d December 1763.

ALL epic poets ſeem to conſider an exact catalogue of the armies which they ſend into the field, and of the heroes by whom they are commanded, as a neceſſary and eſſential part of their poems. A commentator is obliged to juſtify this practice; but to what reader did it ever give pleaſure? Such catalogues deſtroy the intereſt and retard the progreſs of the action, when our attention to it is moſt alive. All the beauties of detail, and all the ornaments of poetry, ſcarcely ſuffice to amuſe our wearineſs; a wearineſs produced by ſuch enumerations even in hiſtorical works, but which are pardoned in them, becauſe neceſſary. In hiſtory, the victory commonly depends on the number and quality of the troops; but in epic poetry, it is always decided by the protection of the gods and the marvellous valor of the hero. Achilles is invincible; his myrmidons are ſcarcely known. Homer has indeed given a catalogue; yet this perhaps

was not right in Homer, or right only in him. Ough
his particular example to make a general law? In tha
caſe, the ſubject of every epic poem ought to be
ſiege, and the poem ought to conclude before eithe
the place is taken or the ſiege raiſed. Poets themſelv
afford a convincing proof that they were ſenſible o
following cuſtom rather than reaſon, by treating tho
catalogues merely as epiſodes, and by introducing in
them heroes, who are rarely thoſe of hiſtory; and wh
after ſhining a moment in thoſe reviews, totally diſa
pear, in order to make room for characters more eſſe
tial to the action. An epic poet ſtands not in need of
dull and vulgar an expedient for making the read
acquainted with his true heroes.

A critic may condemn thoſe poetical catalogue
but woe to the critic, if he is inſenſible to all the bea
ties by which that of Virgil is adorned; the brightn
of his coloring, the number and variety of his p
tures, and that ſweet and well-ſuſtained harmo
which always charms the ear and the ſoul. The ar
of the Tuſcans is not inferior to that of Turn
being alſo compoſed of the flower of many warl
nations aſſembled under the ſtandards of heroes
demigods. But it enjoys over the Rutuli an advant
which it was natural ſhould belong to the allies
Eneas; having juſtice and the gods on its ſide. Ev
reader, while he deteſts the crimes of Mezent
muſt applaud the exertions of a free and gener
people, who have ventured to dethrone their tyr
and are eager to puniſh him. I have always wond
that the courtier of Auguſtus ſhould have introdu
and epiſode which would have been more prop
treated by the friend of Brutus. Every line brea

republican ſentiments, the boldeſt, and perhaps the moſt extravagant. Mezentius was the lawful and hereditary ſovereign of a country, of which he rendered himſelf the tyrant. His ſubjects hurled him from the throne, and thenceforth regard themſelves as free, without once conſidering the rights of his unfortunate and virtuous ſon. Mezentius finds an aſylum among the Rutuli; but his furious ſubjects implore the aſſiſtance of their allies. All Etruria in arms determine to tear their king from the hands of his defenders, in order to ſubject him to puniſhment, and this fury of the Tuſcans is approved by the gods and the poet:

Ergo omnis furiis ſurrexit Etruria juſtis,
Regem ad ſupplicium præſenti Marte repoſcunt.
VIRGIL, Æneid VIII. 494.

If I wiſhed to eſtabliſh it as a general and unlimited principle, that ſubjects have a right to puniſh the crimes of their ſovereigns, I would prefer this example, which admits of neither modification nor reſtriction. Among the ancients themſelves, it appears to me to have been as ſingular in theory as the death of Agis was in practice. Auguſtus muſt have read both with horror; and had Virgil continued to recite the eighth book of the Eneid, I ſuſpect that he would not have been ſo well rewarded for the ſtory of Mezentius as he was for the panegyric of Marcellus.

My ſurpriſe increaſes, when I conſider that the ſtory of Mezentius is entirely Virgil's invention; that it entered not into the general plan of his poem; and that he himſelf had not thought of it when he com-

poſed his ſeventh book. It appears that Virgil, afte
forming a general idea of his deſign, truſted to hi
genius for ſupplying him with the means of carryin
it into execution; and that entering into the charac
ter and ſituation of his hero, he prepared for hi
difficulties to encounter, without knowing exactl
how he would ſurmount them: in one word, whe
he landed Eneas on the banks of the Tiber, tha
he knew not the whole ſeries of events which ſhoul
lead to the death of Turnus. I ſay the whole ſeri
of events; for the part of Mezentius depends o
the introduction of Evander and Pallas, and th
death of Pallas is intimately connected with th
of Turnus. This manner of writing is not deſtitu
of its advantages. It is applauded in Richardſon
who has only imitated Virgil. The truth and bol
neſs by which it is characterized far ſurpaſs the tim
perplexity of a writer, who, while he forms h
plot, is at the ſame time conſidering how he ſha
unravel it. Virgil's example is ſurely more wort
of imitation than that of Chapelain, who wro
the whole of his Pucelle in proſe, before he tra
lated it into poetry. I am ſenſible that had Vir
lived to reviſe his work, he would have given to
uniformity and unity, and carefully effaced all th
marks by which an attentive reader may perce
in it detached parts, not originally written
one for the other. Of theſe take the followi
examples.

1. Mezentius appears at the head of the warri
who follow Turnus, but appears as a king co
pletely maſter of his dominions. He arrives from

Tyrrhenian coasts with numerous troops, and his son, the valiant Lausus, follows him with a thousand warriors from the city of Cære. 2. Messapus king of the Falisci, is a Tuscan Fescennium, Soracte, the Ciminian forest, are among the most celebrated places of Etruria. This Tuscan prince, would he have forsaken the whole body of his nation united by the crimes of Mezentius? Is it to be expected that he should be found in the camp of the enemy; or that he would have brought, as auxiliaries to Turnus, a people sunk in effeminacy, and who knew war only by their detestation of it? The poet would have colored so extraordinary a measure, by assuming for it some probable motive. Would he have said that all Etruria was in insurrection against Mezentius? 3. Aventinus, of Mount Aventine, the son of Hercules, makes a striking figure in the catalogue; but his part is inconsistent with that of Evander. They reigned at the same time, and over the same place. It will be said that one of those princes occupied the Palatine, while the other reigned over the Aventine Mount. This is impossible; for Evander shows the Aventine to Eneas, which was a barren rock[1], situate in his little kingdom, which had no other boundaries than the Tiber, and the territory of the Rutuli[2].

I believe that Virgil would also have corrected some faults, which it is painful to see in his enumeration of the Tuscan warriors. He well knew that when a poet speaks of a science, he ought to do it with precision; and he could not forget that accurate geography is not incompatible with poetry. Of the

twelve cities which compoſed the confederacy o
Etruria, he would have named more than Cære and
Cluſium, and he would not have dwelt on the crowd
of ſecondary towns, which could not do otherwiſe
than follow the ſtandards of their reſpective capitals.
2. He would not have thought that ſeven or eight
beautiful verſes compenſated for introducing the
Ligurians, a foreign and hoſtile nation, into the civil
wars of the Tuſcans, which could only be intereſt-
ting to the members of their own confederacy. 3. I
ſee the camp of the Tuſcans on the ſea-ſhore near to
Cære; I ſee their veſſels, and all the preparations for
a diſtant expedition. They embark, but it is only for
a voyage of thirty miles. They prefer this naviga-
tion to an eaſy march of two days, which would
have brought them to the country of their ally
Evander. There they would have paſſed the Tiber
and found themſelves on the frontiers of the Rutuli.
4. This naval expedition affords matter of ſurpriſe;
but that of the troops of Mantua is totally incredible.
Five hundred warriors embarking on the Mincius
could not arrive in the Tuſcan ſea without making
the circumnavigation of the whole Italian coaſt.
Virgil loved the place of his birth; but he might
eaſily have diſcovered the means of bringing its
ancient inhabitants to the aſſiſtance of Eneas, with-
out offending againſt probability and geography.

N° II.

24th December 1763. LAUSANNE.

I PROCEED to ſay a few words on the catalogue of
Silius Italicus. 1. It would ill become me to ſpeak

the general plan of a poem, of which I have read only a detached paſſage: yet this paſſage is ſufficient to convince me that Pliny well knew his contemporary, when he pronounced that Silius owed more to art than to nature. This art is leſs apparent in the ſtyle, which is eaſy and flowing, than in the thoughts, which are thoſe of a man who is continually ſtriving to be ſublime, and continually ſtruggling againſt his own genius in favor of his ſubject. I am perſuaded that Silius would have judged better in taking Ovid than Virgil for his model. Wherever he does not offer violence to his genius, his fancy is rich, eaſy, and natural. With ſuch a character, it is ſurpriſing that he did not prefer the elegiac to the epic. The greateſt part of thoſe who failed in this laſt ſpecies of poetry are diſtinguiſhed by a ſeverity of character, and a wild irregularity of fancy; and, as they had as little taſte as talent, they eaſily miſtook thoſe qualities for ſtrength, elevation, and originality of genius. Faults were confounded with excellencies, to which they bore ſome baſtard reſemblance. 2. Virgil was free, Silius in fetters. The former might chooſe among all the nations of Italy thoſe who moſt ſuited his deſign: the latter could not omit any of thoſe nations without being guilty of a fault. He was under the hard neceſſity of writing a poetical geography of the whole country between the Strait of Rhegium and the Alps; and this conſtraint is but too viſible in his performance. 3. Silius followed his model with a reſpect bordering on ſuperſtition. Italy no longer contained in her boſom a multitude of different nations, whoſe arms, manners, and even languages, diffuſed a pleaſing variety

over the ſubject, while the ſtory of their chiefs and founders invited the writer to agreeable excurſions in the region of fancy. All thoſe nations were become ſtrictly Roman, and had exactly conformed to the laws, enſigns, and diſcipline of the republic; a vaſt but uniform object, which was better fitted for ſuggeſting reflections to a philoſopher, than for animating the deſcriptions of a poet. Silius, after ſeeking for characteriſtic differences which no longer prevailed among the nations whom he deſcribes, is continually introducing thoſe of the countries which they inhabited. His pictures have life and variety; but they are not in their proper place. The character of the people who were to fight was of importance in deciding the iſſue of the battle; the nature of the countries which they left behind them was entirely foreign to the ſubject. 4. Silius ought to have remembered that Aquilina was not in exiſtence during the ſecond Punic war[3]; and that we knew nothing of this place till it became the ſeat of a Latin colony, ſent thither to check the incurſions of the Gauls, thirty years after the battle of Cannæ[4].

N° III.

25th December 1763. LAUSANNE.

AN uſeful chapter might be added to the Hiſtory of the great Roads of the Roman Empire, by Bergier, explaining the uſes to which the Romans applied them. He has indeed mentioned poſts, which afforded conveniency to a ſmall number of perſons;

but has omitted many important particulars that still remain to be told. A critical examination of the ordinary journies of travellers would afford important information concerning the private life of the Romans, and even throw light on geography and chronology. I am sensible that the differences of age, condition, and circumstances, must render our general conclusions uncertain; but as the means were universally the same, these uncertainties will be reduced within certain limits.

Augustus travelled with an extraordinary slowness in the neighbourhood of Rome. A journey to Tibur (20 Roman miles[3]), or to Preneste (25 miles[4]), consumed two days, or rather two nights[5]. But the situation of Augustus was as singular as his taste. The weakness of his health from his youth upwards compelled him to the strictest regimen; and by his own temper he would be inclined to carry the dictates of prudence to an extreme. It appears from his faithful biographer that this prince was soon tired of debauchery; and that he always despised luxury, though much addicted to effeminacy. We may add to these circumstances, that he travelled in a litter carried by slaves; and proceeded with great slowness, that his attention might not be withdrawn a moment from his usual occupations. The gentle motion of his carriage allowed him to read, write, and attend to the same affairs which employed him in his cabinet[6]. From such an example, no general consequence can be deduced.

The same may be said of those rapid and extraordinary journies of which the ancients sometimes

make mention. How wide is the difference betwee
the mode of travelling of Auguſtus and that of hi
ſon Tiberius, who accompliſhed a journey of tw
hundred miles in twenty-four hours, when he ha
tened to cloſe the eyes of his brother Druſus[9]; o
that of Cæſar the dictator, who poſted one hundre
miles a-day with hired carriages[10]. Statius ſpeak
of a rapidity as extraordinary, when he ſays that
traveller might ſet out from Rome in the morning
and ſleep at Baiæ or Puteoli; an expeditious jou
ney indeed, ſince the diſtance is 141 Roman[11], o
127 Engliſh miles.

Nihil obſtat cupidis; nihil moratur
Qui primo Tiberim reliquit ortu
Primo veſpere naviget Lucrinum[12].

I know that the poet wiſhed to celebrate the fi
road which Domitian had made from Sinueſſa to C
mæ; which had fixed the ſands of Liternum, an
reſtrained the inundations of the Vulturnus. Th
thirty miles which he had paſſed, and which uſe
to be the work of a day, now ſcarcely conſume
two hours. Perhaps we muſt make ſome allowan
for the flattery of a poet, who wiſhed to pay h
court. Yet the poſſibility of the journey muſt b
admitted, ſince falſehoods are not to be riſked
matters ſo ſimple, public, and preciſe.

We may perceive how much the Roman roa
muſt have facilitated travelling, when we call
mind the journey of the courier, who brought
Rome the firſt news of the defeat of Perſeus. Th

date of the battle is precisely fixed by an eclipse of the moon, which happened the day preceding the nones of September, that is, the 21st of June of the Julian year [13]. The courier arrived in the Circus the second day of the Roman games, and the thirteenth after the defeat [14]. These two circumstances show, that to get the thirteen days we must reckon both the day of his departure and that of his arrival, which will bring us to the 16th of the calends of October [15], the 4th of July. We may therefore reckon twelve complete days; two of which might be employed in sailing from Dyrrhachium to Brundusium, since the distance is 1300 stadia, or 225 miles [16]; and Ptolemy estimates an ordinary ship's way at 1000 stadia each day [17]. The ten remaining days were consumed in the journey from Pella to Dyrrhachium, 253 miles [18]; and in that from Brundusium to Rome, 368 miles [19]; in all 621; which gives no more than sixty miles a day. We are to remember that this journey was performed by one courier, in the finest season of the year, and bringing the news of a great victory. He therefore anticipated, by several days, the deputies of the consul, although they likewise travelled with the greatest expedition. The Egnatian road was not yet made; the Appian extended no further than to Capua; and the Greeks never applied themselves to the making of highways [20].

Among the ordinary journies of the Romans, who travelled neither like invalids nor couriers, there are two which we know with some degree of accuracy: the journey of Horace to Brundusium, by the way of Canusium; and that of Cicero to the

ſame place, by the way of Venuſia and Tarentum I ſhall ſpeak of both, beginning with that of Horace.

1. Horace's aim was not to inform, but to amuſe us: his day's journies are deſcribed confuſedly, and we rather gueſs at, than aſcertain them. He dwells on the places in his route, in proportion to the objects which they preſented to his fancy, rather than to the time during which he remained in them. Commentators would perſuade us that Horace was fifteen or ſeventeen days on the road[11]; but the foundation of this opinion, namely, that the poet ſlept at all the places of which he makes mention, appears to me to be an exceedingly weak one. Our conjectures will be more natural, if we attend to the characteriſtic circumſtances of the evening, morning, the hour of repaſt, &c. circumſtances which are ſcattered through the ſatire. The following is the journal, with which this conſideration will furniſh us. The firſt day Horace left Rome, with the rhetorician Heliodorus, to take up his night's abode at Aricia, ſixteen miles diſtant.

Egreſſum magnâ me accepit Aricia Româ
Hoſpitio modico[12].

The ſecond day he arrived at the Forum Appii towards the evening; twenty-ſeven miles.

——— *Jam nox inducere terris*
Umbras, & cælo diffundere ſigna parabat.

He ſailed along the canal in the night, and landed

at the fourth hour (ten o'clock A. M. of the third day). After a light breakfaſt at Feronia, he travelled three miles towards Terracina, which is eighteen miles diſtant from the Forum Appii. I do not perceive that he halted either at Terracina or at Fundi; ſo that he was much fatigued when he arrived at Formiæ, which is thirty-two miles from Feronia.

In Mamurrarum laſſi deinde urbe manemus,
Murenâ præbente domum, Capitone culinam.

The fourth day, Mecenas and his ſuite arrive early at Sinueſſa, eighteen miles from Formiæ.

Poſtera lux oritur multo gratiſſima: namque
Plotius & Varius Sinueſſæ Virgiliuſque
Occurrunt.

The commentators have themſelves obſerved that our travellers only dined at Sinueſſa, and then proceeded to the bridge of Campania, Pons Campanius, on the Savo, eighteen miles from Sinueſſa, and ſixteen from Capua [23].

Proxima Campano ponti quæ villula tectum
Præbuit; & parochi quæ debent ligna ſalemque.

The fifth day, the mules brought them early to Capua.

Hinc muli Capuæ clitellas tempore ponunt,

The poets went to ſleep, while Mecenas diverted himſelf at tennis; which ſhows that it was the time for exerciſe, which ended before two o'clock P. M.

Horace says nothing of the bath and supper whic commonly followed. I conclude, therefore, th instead of sitting down to table, they again entere into their carriage, and proceeded twenty-one mile to sup and sleep at the house of Cocceius, one of th company, which was situate on the heights Caudium.

Hinc nos Cocceii recipit plenissima villa,
Quæ super est Caudi cauponas. ——
* * * * * * * * * * *
Prorsus jucundè cœnam produximus illam.

The sixth day, they performed only a very sho journey from the castle of Cocceius to Beneventur it was no more than eight miles. It is probable th the gaiety and good cheer of the house of Cocceiu made them sit up late, and that he did not allo them to depart next day till after dinner; for whic reason I shall reckon this but half a day's journey. the whole, therefore, we have 164 Roman mil to divide by five days and a half, which gives Roman, or 27 English miles, a day. But I am opinion that we ought to divide by four days and half. Horace travelled with the laziness of a man letters, until he met the ambassadors at Terracin He employed two days between Rome and th Forum Appii; but he confesses that more expeditiou travellers would have performed that journey one day.

Hoc iter ignavi divisimus, altius ac nos
Præcinctis unum. Minùs est gravis Appia tard

The ambaſſadors were embarraſſed with a more numerous ſuite, but they travelled with more conveniencies and greater expedition. Yet we ought to be better informed than we are of the object of their negotiation, to determine whether they were bent on reaching Brunduſium with all poſſible haſte. An ambaſſador wiſhes to accelerate or retard his journey as the buſineſs of his miſſion may require. Theſe four days and a half to which I would reduce the journey of Horace from Rome to Beneventum will give 36⅔ Roman, near 33 Engliſh miles, for the progreſs of each day.

While we travel to Beneventum, we traverſe a well-known country. But, after quitting this city, Horace is loſt among the mountains of Apulia, until he re-appear at Canuſium. We meet with little but obſcurity in this part of his route; and the glimmerings of light are ſo well fitted to deceive us, that Father Sanadon ſuſpects Horace of having loſt his way among his native mountains [24]. Yet why ſhould we ſuppoſe that the villa Trivici muſt mean Trivicum, or that Equotutium muſt be the name of the place that cannot be introduced into an hexameter verſe? Theſe conjectures are inconſiſtent with geography. Why ſhould we perſiſt in fixing with accuracy the ſituation of a country-houſe, and of a village (*oppidulum*), belonging to the moſt deſert and leaſt known diſtrict of all Italy? Let us be contented with knowing that theſe two undiſcovered places ſtood on the high road from Beneventum to Canuſium; and all difficulties will be removed. Yet this general knowledge will not allow us to aſcertain

the day's journies as above. Our poet, however, though he ſpeak in obſcure terms of the places, is exact with reſpect to time. We may continue, therefore, his journal, and then compare it with the wellknown diſtance between Beneventum and Brunduſium. The ſeventh day, he left Beneventum, clambered with difficulty over the mountains which ſeparate the territory of the Hirpini from Apulia, and reſted in the caſtle of Trivicus.

——— *Quos*
Nunquam erepſemus; niſi nos vicina Trivici
Villa recepiſſet, lacrymoſo non ſine fumo.

The eighth, our travellers proceeded twenty-four miles, and ſlept at a ſmall village, whoſe groteſque name could not enter into a verſe.

Manſuri oppidulo quod verſu dicere non eſt.

The ninth day, I find them at Canuſium, but imagine they proceeded to Rubi; at leaſt they arrived there much fatigued with a long journey. The appellation could not have been given to twenty-three miles.

Inde Rubos feſſi pervenimus, utpote longum
carpentes iter. ——

The tenth day, they proceeded to Bari; the eleventh to Gnatia; and the twelfth at length brought them to Brunduſium. It is true that theſe three laſt days are not accurately diſtinguiſhed; but it is certain there were no more: and without obliging our travellers

travellers to make one day's journey of ſixty miles, it is impoſſible to reduce their number. From Beneventum to Brunduſium we have 205 miles; which gives the rate of 34 Roman, nearly 31 Engliſh, each day. They travelled faſter the firſt days, not being then retarded by the Apulian mountains, and by roads, bad in themſelves, and then rendered worſe by the rain. Their repeated complaints on this ſubject give reaſon for ſuſpecting that the Appian way then reached only to Capua, and that it was not Julius Cæſar that carried it to Brunduſium [25]. Raiſed cauſeways, formed of three layers of materials, and paved with flint-ſtones, have reſiſted the impreſſions of time. Is it credible, that in twenty years after they were made, they ſhould have been ſpoiled by a ſhower of rain?

With the eyes of a commentator, I ſhould ſee nothing but excellence in this ſatire, and call it, with Father Sanadon, a model of the narrative ſtyle [26]. It is true that I obſerve in it with pleaſure two well-applied ſtrokes of ſatire; one againſt the ſtupid pride of the pretor of Fundi, and another againſt the more ſtupid ſuperſtition of the people of Gnatia: but I could not heſitate to pronounce that the almoſt unknown journey of Rutilius is ſuperior to that of Horace in point of deſcription, poetry, and eſpecially in the choice of incidents. The groſs language of a boatman, and the ribaldry of two buffoons, ſurely belong only to the loweſt ſpecies of comedy. They might divert travellers in a humor to be pleaſed with every thing; but how could a man of taſte reflect on them the day after? They are leſs offenſive, however,

than the infirmities of the poet, which occur mor
than once; the plaſters which he applies to his eyes
and the naſty accident which befel him in the nigh
The maxim, that every thing in great men is inte
eſting, applies only to their minds, and ought no
to be extended to their bodies. What unworth
objects for the attention of Horace, when the fac
of the country and the manners of its inhabitants i
vain offered to him a field of inſtruction and pleaſure
Perhaps this journey, which our poet made i
company with Mecenas, creating much envy again
him [17], he wrote this piece to convince his enemie
that his thoughts and occupations on the road we
far from being of a ſerious or political nature.

2. In the year of Rome 702, a decree of the ſena
intruſted Cicero with the government of Cilicia.
compliance with the decree, he quitted a city t
theatre of his glory, and went to gather laurels
Mount Amanus. Atticus and his other friends we
requeſted to attend to his intereſts, and to ſhorten
much as poſſible the term of his baniſhment. It w
with difficulty that he could tear himſelf from t
delightful neighbourhood of the capital. He travel
from one villa to another, before he could ſeriou
ſet out on his journey. He left Rome the firſt
May [18]; the tenth of the ſame month, I find him
his villa near Pompeii. The following is the m
natural diviſion of theſe nine days. The 1ſt: Cic
went no further than to his houſe near Tuſculum.
mentions the converſation he had there with Attic
who probably accompanied him to that charm
villa; where he would certainly ſleep that nig

he 2d May: Tuſculum is ſixty-three miles from
rpinum. This would have been too great a journey
r a man who did not travel with the ſpeed of a
urier I therefore divide it into two, and ſuppoſe
at Cicero ſtopt ſhort at Terentinum. 3d May: in
at caſe he had but twenty miles to travel to his villa
Arpinum. The pleaſure of ſeeing his fellow-
izens, and receiving the compliments of a people
o conſidered his glory as their own, would detain
m there the remainder of that day. The 4th May:
s day, which was leſs agreeable than the pre-
ding, is marked very diſtinctly. Cicero dined at
e villa of his brother Quintus at Arcanum, not far
m Arpinum; and witneſſed a domeſtic ſcene, in
ich the bad humor of Quintus's wife diſturbed the
aſure of the entertainment, and tired the patience
her huſband and brother-in-law. Cicero ſlept that
ht at Aquinum, only fifteen miles from Arpinum.
e 5th and 6th of May: from Aquinum to Cumæ
e diſtance is ſixty-five miles". The journey would
e been rather too long. Beſides, in paſſing from
uinum, which is on the Latin way, to Minturnæ,
ich is on the Appian, it was neceſſary to croſs the
ntry; ſince the highway extended in that direc-
n only nine miles. It was neceſſary to quit it again
inueſſa, to wade through the marſhes of Vulturnus
the ſands of Liturnum. I imagine that Cicero
t at one of theſe places, and proceeded next day
is houſe at Cumæ. The 7th of May muſt have
n ſpent entirely at Cumæ. I know that the
ole bay of Naples was adorned by country-
ſes contiguous to each other; but it muſt have

required at leaſt one day to aſſemble a little Rome
the houſe of Cicero. The 8th of May, he went
his villa at Pompeii. The diſtance was thirty-ni
miles by land, through Puteoli, Naples, a
Herculaneum. He might have much ſhortened it
croſſing the bay: yet one day muſt be allowed for t
journey. The 9th day was ſurely ſpent at Pompe
Some motive of buſineſs or pleaſure muſt have carri
Cicero ſo far out of his road.

In this journey, we ſee a great man travelling
the neighbourhood of the capital, making gr
journies without being in haſte, and every wh
enjoying his conveniencies. Among the ancien
theſe conveniencies could only be enjoyed by
great; becauſe it was neceſſary to procure them
one's ſelf, to ſupply the want of poſts by relays, a
the want of good inns by private houſes. In mod
times, the intereſt of individuals ſupplies to the pub
all theſe conveniencies, which each man may purch
whenever he ſtands in need of them. On the 10t
May, Cicero left Pompeii; and went to ſleep i
country-houſe which one of his friends had
Trebula; thirty miles. He began to travel ſeriou
and writes to Atticus that he purpoſed in future
make good journies, *juſta itinera.* The 11th of M
brought him to Beneventum, thirty miles.
12th of May, he ſeems to have ſtopped there, f
he ſpeaks of a letter received early, and one wh
came later. The 15th of May, he left Venuſi
climb Mount Vultur, and thence deſcend into
plain of Lucania. He arrived at Tarentum on
18th of May: this place is 155 miles from Bene

um. He ſpent three days with the great Pompey, employed in fortifying the good principles of a man who yet held, or believed that he held, the balance of the republic. On the 22d of May, Cicero proceeded to Brunduſium, forty-three miles from Tarentum [10]. Contrary winds and buſineſs detained him ſeveral days in that harbour. He at length ſailed the 15th of June, and arrived at Actium. He again ſet out, croſſed the Achelous and the Evenus, paſſed through the cities of Delphi, Theſpiæ, Megara, and Eleuſis, and arrived at Athens on the 25th of June, after travelling 205 miles from Actium [11]. I ſhall not dwell longer on this journey of Cicero; but only remark, that from Pompeii to Athens he travelled 463 Roman, about 417 Engliſh miles, in nineteen days: which gives 24$\frac{7}{19}$ Roman miles for each day's journey.

This ſlowneſs is ſurpriſing, ſince Cicero did not travel in a day farther than a Roman ſoldier, loaded with his arms and ſo many other burdens, advanced in five hours of ſummer (about ſix equinoctial hours). My ſurpriſe is however diminiſhed by the following conſiderations. Cicero left his country without knowing preciſely how long his abſence from it was to continue. A multitude of preparations were neceſſary for a governor, who was going to eſtabliſh a great houſehold in a diſtant and barbarous province. He had to wait for a number of conveniencies which were collecting for him at Beneventum, Tarentum, and Brunduſium, and which could not but retard his journey. It is poſſible that I may be miſtaken; but I think it apparent in all our orator's letters, that

ſuch economical arrangements were by no mea
ſuited to his genius. 2. The family of a proconſ
was too numerous to admit of diſpatch in travellin
A queſtor, four lieutenants, twelve tribune
accompanied Cicero to execute their reſpecti
functions under his government. A crowd of you
Romans of high rank followed the proconſul,
learn under his auſpices the art of war, or rather th
of politics. To this illuſtrious band we muſt add on
far more numerous, of officers, lictors, clerks, free
men, and ſlaves, belonging to the proconſul hi
ſelf, or to the companions of his journey. This litt
army was embarraſſed with too many wants to allo
him to proceed with the expedition of an ordina
traveller. He would have preferred going by ſea fro
Actium to Patras: but in that caſe he muſt have ma
uſe of the little barks of the country; and the paſſa
would not have been performed with the dignity o
public miniſter, who wiſhed to ſurpriſe the Gree
as much by the magnificence of his equipage, as b
the moderation of his conduct. 3. The roads mu
have been very bad between Actium and Athen
The motive of the Romans in making roads w
neither the benefit of the provinces, which tho
conquerors always deſpiſed, nor the convenien
of commercial intercourſe, of which they never kne
how to eſtimate the value; but merely to facilita
the marches of their troops. Greece, which ear
became an interior and ſubmiſſive province, was n
in any of the direct lines which united Rome with t
frontiers; and had but one only road, while the oth
parts of the empire were interſected by military way

in all poſſible directions. The proconſul might have followed this road, if it was then made; but as we are ignorant of its æra, we ought rather to think that it was not ſo early. Moſt of the Roman roads are works of the emperors [11]. 4. Greece attracted but weakly the attention of the Roman government; but how well did it deſerve that of Cicero! How could he rapidly traverſe a country, each village of which was illuſtrious in hiſtory or fable? The man of letters, who admired the Greeks in proportion as he was eager to ſurpaſs them; the curious antiquary, who had diſcovered with ſuch tranſports the tomb of Archimedes; the enlightened philoſopher, who had unveiled the frauds of Delphi; muſt have been arreſted at every ſtep by a hundred objects unknown and indifferent to vulgar eyes. With what pleaſure would I follow ſuch a guide in ſuch a journey!

In uniting the 369 Roman miles which Horace travelled in ten days, with the 463 which Cicero travelled in nineteen, we ſhall have the middle term of 30 Roman miles for an ordinary day's journey. I ſhould prefer, however, extending it to 33 Roman, or 30 Engliſh miles; the ſlowneſs of Cicero being better aſcertained than the ſuppoſed rapidity of Horace.

I ſhall not expatiate on the poſts, the inns, or the carriages of the Romans. The laſt, if we may judge of them by ſubſiſting monuments, were ſmall, open, and inconvenient. They had two or four wheels; but, not being ſuſpended, muſt have been very fatiguing to travellers on the paved military roads. Theſe carriages were of various kinds; and what is

extraordinary, almoſt all the different kinds had been borrowed from the Gauls. The Romans adorned them with ſilver, gold, and ſometimes with precious ſtones; a barbarous and miſplaced luxury, indicating more riches than taſte. It was reſerved for modern times to invent thoſe ſoft and elegant machines which gratify at once the effeminacy, lazineſs, and impatience of travellers".

I ſhall ſpeak briefly of another kind of travelling, the march of troops. Theſe marches, I am inclined to think, both by the exerciſes (of which I have made mention) and by my general opinion on the ſubject, were longer than ours; but, previouſly to making the reſearches neceſſary for determining this matter with preciſion, I ſhall caſt a glance on the longeſt and boldeſt march which I have ever met with in hiſtory, either ancient or modern.

The fortune of the Carthaginians was ſuſtained in Italy by the exertions of Hannibal, when Aſdrubal croſſed the Alps with a numerous army. The republic was in danger of ſinking under their united efforts. Nero the conſul obſerved the motions of Hannibal, who exhauſted the whole ſcience of marching and countermarching. The Roman general perceived that a bold ſtroke only could ward off the dangers which threatened his country. With a choſen body of a thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot, he marched from his camp, deceived the vigilance of the Carthaginians, effected a junction with his colleague in Umbria, ſaved the republic at the battle of Metaurus, and returned with the ſame celerity, announcing to Hannibal the death of his

brother, and finding that general himself still aſtoniſhed and inactive [14]. He had left Hannibal in the neighbourhood of Canuſium; he found the conſul Livius in that of Sena Gallica. His route through the territories of the Larinates, Frentani, Marrucini, Prætutii, and Picenum, into Umbria, was about 270 Roman miles [15]. I know not how many days he employed in marching thither, but I know that only ſix were ſpent in his return [16]. Expedition became daily more neceſſary; and it is not a ſmall ſtain on the glory of Hannibal that he remained ignorant for twelve days of the departure of the Roman general. I think this would not have eſcaped the vigilance of Aſdrubal; and that he would have deſtroyed an army weakened by the abſence of its general, and by a powerful detachment [17]. 270 Roman miles in ſix days give 45 Roman, or 40½ Engliſh miles for each daily march. The fact is ſcarcely credible. Nero's forces, indeed, were elected from the whole army; he marched night and day; and the zeal of the allies co-operated with the attentions of the general in procuring for them in abundance every comfort and aſſiſtance proper for ſoftening their fatigues and reviving their ſtrength. With all theſe advantages, it would be impoſſible for modern troops to make ſuch a march. To accompliſh it required Romans, and Romans of the age of Scipio. As ſoldiers, their bodies were patient of fatigue and toil; as citizens, they had a country for which to fight. Their exertions were quite different from thoſe of a herd of mercenaries, whoſe only hope is that of pay and whoſe only fear is that of puniſhment.

This is a ſketch of the chapter which I ſaid wa
wanting; — but ſtill, how imperfect have I left it!

N° IV.

LAUSANNE

MUCH philoſophical and much theological know
ledge may be derived from Ovid's Faſti. The religio
of the Romans, the points in which it agrees with, o
differs from, that of the Greeks, is a ſubject as curiou
as it is new. I reckon for nothing the reſearches o
a Coyer.

The poetry of the Faſti appears to me more liabl
to blame than worthy of praiſe. I acknowledge wit
pleaſure all the merit of Ovid; his aſtoniſhing fancy
a perpetual elegance, and the moſt agreeable tur
of mind. I principally admire his variety, ſuppleneſ
and (if I may ſay ſo) his flexibility of genius, whic
rapidly embraces the moſt oppoſite ſubjects, aſſum
the true ſtyle of each, and preſents them all und
the moſt pleaſing forms of which they are ſuſceptibl
The thought almoſt always ſuits the ſubject; a
the expreſſion rarely fails in being ſuitable to t
thought. In the Faſti, the ſame ideas are perpetual
recurring; but the images under which they a
repreſented are continually different. The paſſag
of the Faſti which have given me moſt pleaſure ar
1. The origin of ſacrifices: 2. The adventure
Lucretia: 3. The feſtival of Anna Perenna: 4. T
origin of the name of May: 5. The diſpute of t
goddeſſes for that of June.

The following are ſome of the faults in the char
ter either of the poet or of his ſubject; which it

painful to perceive. Ovid appears to me defective in point of ſtrength and elevation; and his genius loſes in depth what it gains in ſurface. In painting nature, his ſtrokes are vague, and without character. His expreſſion of the paſſions is rarely juſt; he is ſometimes weak, ſometimes extravagant, always too diffuſe; and though he continually ſeeks the road to the heart, is ſeldom fortunate enough to find it. His light and tender character, ſoftened by pleaſure, and rendered more intereſting by misfortune, made him acquainted with the tones of ſadneſs and joy. He knows how to lament the miſery of a forſaken miſtreſs, or to celebrate the triumphs of a ſucceſsful lover. But the great paſſions are above his reach; fury, vengeance, the fortitude or ferocity of the ſoul, which either ſubdues its moſt impetuous movements, or precipitates their unbridled career. His heroes think more of the reader than of themſelves; and the poet, who ought to remain concealed, is always ready to come forward, and to praiſe, blame, or pity them. Ovid wrote a tragedy; but, notwithſtanding the judgment of Quintilian, I cannot much regret its loſs. 2. He was ignorant of the rules of proportion, rules ſo neceſſary to a writer who would give to each ſentiment its due extent, and arrange it in its proper place, agreeably to its own nature, and the end for which he employs it. In Ovid, you may perceive thoughts the moſt intereſting, and narratives cloſely connected with the very eſſence of his ſubject, paſs away lightly without leaving a trace behind; while he dwells with complacency on parts merely ornamental, frivolous, or ſuperfluous. Can

it be believed that the rape of Proſerpine ſhould be deſcribed in two verſes, when the enumeration of the flowers which ſhe gathered in the garden of Eden had juſt filled ſixteen "? I acknowledge that the ſubject of the Faſti expoſed him to faults in proportioning the parts of his work. That ſubject is connected with the whole of the Greek mythology; it contains, alſo, much of the Roman hiſtory. It was ſometimes neceſſary to relate the whole fable; at other times, to hint at, or even to ſuppoſe it, was ſufficient. It was requiſite for him to decide how far each ſtory was likely to be known by an ordinary reader, and how much the knowledge of it contributed to that of his ſubject: but the principles of ſuch deciſions are extremely delicate. 3. Some writers have praiſed Ovid for the artfulneſs of his tranſitions in a work ſo various as that of the Metamorphoſes. Yet this ſubject without poſſeſſing the unity of epic poetry, ſupplied him with very natural principles of connexion. But the Faſti is a ſubject totally disjointed. Each ceremony, and each feſtival, is altogether diſtinct from that which follows it, and which follows it only by an imaginary chronology. The poet always traces the æra of their inſtitution, which falls, if you will, on the month of January; but they are Januaries of different years, or rather of different centuries. Ovid was ſo ſenſible of this defect in his ſubject, that he endeavours to aſſociate feſtivals on the earth with the phenomena of the heavens, in order to give a connexion more real, but extremely unintereſting to his calendar. 4. Ovid heard from the mouth of the gods the laws of their worſhip, the origin and prin

iple of each fable, and of each ceremony. Such is he nature of the human mind; even in fiction we equire the appearance of truth. We cannot bear to ee the poet's invention at work. But Ovid ſhows to s too plainly, that all his ingenious converſations vith the gods are the work of his own brain. When e ſpeaks ſeriouſly, as he once does in mentioning Veſta, it is to overturn the whole fanciful fabric at ne blow. I acknowledge, that a Roman poet uſt have been perplexed by the perpetual mixture f the ſerious with the fantaſtic, and by a poetical eligion which was alſo that of the ſtate. Among the arly Greeks, the inſpiration of Homer did not differ om that of Calchas. His works and thoſe of his ucceſſors were the ſcriptures of the nation. With s, on the other hand, the inſpiration of poets is erely a tranſient and voluntary illuſion to which e ſubmit ourſelves. But among the Romans, who ternately believed in and laughed at their gods, ut who had no faith whatever in their poets, the art of theſe laſt was very difficult to act. 5. I ought ot to reckon the employment of elegiac verſe as a articular fault, though heroic meaſure would have een well adapted to the ſubject of the Faſti. Elegiac erſe has always tired me. The pauſe conſtantly ecurs on the middle of the third foot of the penta- eter; and the ſenſe muſt always be included in a uplet. This monotony fatigues the ear; and cauſes e introduction of many uſeleſs words merely for e ſake of the meaſure. There is far more variety, berty, and true harmony in the flow of heroic verſe.

N° V.

LAUSANNE.

In consequence of reading Addison's treatise, the following remarks have occurred to me on the allegorical beings which we find on the reverses of medals. How limited is the human mind! its boldest inventions are mere copies.

1. All those beings are represented under the human figure. Our eyes, accustomed to behold the exercise of reason, only under this shape, required such a sacrifice. Yet, by our inability of separating from the idea of the human figure the circumstances which commonly accompany it, our fancy requires, also, that the sex should be determined. The circumstance of sex, however, implies gross images, which ill correspond with the purity of the virtues, or the spirituality of metaphysical beings. After having made those two sacrifices to the mind and the eyes, a third was still required by the ear. The distinction of sex was not marked by characteristic attributes appropriated to the male and female. This method might have furnished some tolerable allegories. But the gender of their names was injudiciously chosen as the only foundation of distinction, since in all languages those genders have been determined by the caprice and ignorance of the first persons who spoke them. In Greek and Latin, most of those names are feminine. The beings whom they express are therefore, for the most part, represented by female figures. I say for the most part, for they are sometimes unfortunately masculine: and at other times w

ave two ſynonymous words of different genders; nd the ſame being aſſumes the male or female form, cording to the word employed as its name. I ſhall ention only the example of *Gloria* and *Honos*. In nſequence of ſo faulty an arrangement, the character the being is often at variance with that of its ſex. rue virtue is conſiſtent; and we cannot conceive e truth, juſtice, or humanity of a woman exerciſed the expenſe of chaſtity and decency. Yet when e attributes of an allegorical being require that it ould be repreſented naked, we ſee Valor, Juſtice, d Hope exhibited, in a manner in which a modeſt oman would bluſh to appear. It is uſeleſs to tell e, theſe are not women, but female figures. My derſtanding perceives the difference; but the itative arts muſt ſpeak to the fancy.

2. Whatever ſymbols we invent, human qualities one can be repreſented under human figures. Piety only a pious woman; and Courage, a courageous e, &c. Much is done when the ſoul is purged of paſſions but one, which occupies it entirely, and ows itſelf manifeſtly in air, action, demeanour, d even dreſs. This abſtraction has been realized, ough rarely; it may be conceived by the fancy, d may therefore be repreſented. But thoſe ſymbols e always moſt ſtriking which quit the region of imeras, and give us ideas that are preciſe and con- rmable to the nature of things. One of the moſt tereſting is that of Piety under the form of a Roman ſtal. The ſenate carried this principle too far, hen it repreſented the virtues under the portraits its princes. Of human qualities, thoſe that are

fixed and permanent are marked with more force than those that are uncertain and transient. The latter are expressed alone by the air and attitude; in the representation of the former, one may add to these characteristics, the features, figure, and dress. The symbols of Virtue or Chastity may be far more distinctly characterized than those of Hope or Fear.

The other abstractions which have been represented by human figures, Victory, Eternity, Abundance, &c. are recognised only by some of their perceptible effects, or by some real object whose idea is associated with their own. We should have much difficulty in inventing them, when wanted, if history and fable did not supply a number of arbitrary signs, which receive their meaning merely from convention. In the symbolic representation the woman is merely an accessory. Eternity is very well represented by a globe and a phœnix: in the thirteenth medal of the first series, a woman sitting holds them in her hand. In the fifteenth medal there is no woman, though the idea is still the same; and if we examine all the other medals, we shall find that women are there merely to make a figure, but never answer the purpose of symbols. The provinces are of a middle kind; they are never symbols of countries, but are often so of the genius and manners of their inhabitants.

3. Mr. Addison proposes an explanation of the thirty-fifth ode of the first book of Horace, in speaking of a medal which represents Security resting on a pillar [1].

Regumque

Regumque matres barbarorum, &
Purpurei metuunt tyranni
Injurioſo ne pede proruas
Stantem columnam. —

They feared leſt Fortune might overturn the pillar of their ſecurity. But fear and ſecurity are inconſtent. Beſides, Horace would not probably have made uſe of ſo ſubtile and far-fetched an alluſion without giving warning of it, at leaſt, by ſome epithet. Why may not theſe words be applied literally to thoſe ſtatues and pillars which flattery erects to tyrants, and which are commonly the firſt victims of popular fury at the time of a revolution? I conjecture that the poet might allude to the king of the Parthians, the moſt powerful monarch of the eaſt. Fortune might juſtly be dreaded by the murderer of his father, and of his whole family. The Romans had ſeen proofs of his anxiety. He had given to Auguſtus ſeveral of his neareſt relations as hoſtages, whom that emperor cauſed to be educated at Rome. The haughty Phrahates intended leſs to flatter the Romans by this humiliating meaſure, than to deprive his diſcontented ſubjects of men fit to head their revolt **.

N° VI.

FLORENCE, 5th Auguſt 1764.

I HAVE been reading a little work, entitled, *A critical Letter of the Chevalier Lorenzo Guazzeſi Aretino, to Doctor Anthony Cocchi, Phyſician and Antiquary of*

his Catholic Majeſty; reſpecting ſome Tranſactions the Ciſalpine Gallic War, in the Year of Rome 5 *Arezzo*, 1752; *in* 12*mo. pp.* 103. I find in this li work, erudition, good ſenſe, ſound criticiſm, w much local knowledge. Its chief fault is that the Chevalier's country, an Aſiatic ſtyle, prejudic to ſtrength, preciſion, and brevity. I ſhall uni under one point of view, what I have learned fr him on the ſubject, and the additions which my o reflections have made to it. This ſketch would leſs imperfect, had I a Polybius at hand.

1. I cannot imagine any event that would h more endangered the greatneſs of Rome than union of the Gauls and Carthaginians in the Punic war. Both theſe nations were formidable that ambitious republic; and in both the projec vengeance would have been directed by the wi policy. Each would have brought with it the vantages in which its ally was deficient. Carth was powerful in wealth, ſhipping, and milit diſcipline. The populouſneſs, valor, and adv tageous ſituation of the Gauls made the Rom always conſider a Gallic war as an event big w alarm and danger. Had the allies ſucceeded, difference of their views and character would h facilitated the friendly diviſion of their conqu and cemented their union. But the cautious narrow policy of the Carthaginians, and the inſenſibility natural to improvident Barbarians, vered the Romans from the danger of this allia The republic, I imagine, who knew how to ſemble her hatred as well as her ambition, was ca

o keep on good terms with the Gauls; and, before rovoking their reſentment, patiently waited until ey ſhould have no other reſource than in themſelves.

In the year of Rome 470, the Galli Senones were lmoſt extirpated. The colonies of Caſtrum and Sena ere ſent into the country extending from the Æſis o the Uſens; and the whole of their territory, the ger Gallicus, was added to the dominions of the ate. Fifty eight years afterwards, a tribune, ambi- ous of popularity, obtained a law for dividing this ublic property among the citizens. It is difficult to erceive why this diſtribution of lands, which had eaſed to belong to the Gauls, ſhould at once pro- oke a war as fierce as it was general: all that I nderſtand is, that the neighbouring Boii enjoyed he right of public paſturage, on paying a ſmall quit- ent called *Scriptura;* and that the lands were perhaps bfarmed by individuals. The avarice of the new roprietors may be ſuppoſed to have expelled the eble remnant of the Senones, which the wiſe mo- eration of government had left unmoleſted. The eighbourhood of the Romans would grow more rmidable to the Gauls, in proportion as that frontier as fortified and peopled by a rival and warlike olony. Whatever were the reaſons, it is certain at this law ſpread diſmay and fury through the hole of Ciſalpine Gaul. Theſe nations flew to arms, d invited into Italy numerous mercenaries from eyond the Alps. The Romans prepared for reſiſting e ſtorm. By an enumeration of their forces in Italy, ey found they could ſend into the field 700,000 foot d 70,000 horſe. The conſul Æmilius, at the head of

a numerous army, took poſt at Ariminum, to defend the Ager Gallicus, the object of the war; and one of the prætors was intruſted with the defence of Tuſcany. Atilius, the other conſul, had ſailed to Sardinia, with a view of conquering the barbarians of that iſland.

2. It is not material to determine by what route the barbarians penetrated into Etruria, which they thought fit to render the firſt theatre of the war. The prætor had naturally poſted himſelf near to Arezzo, the principal fortreſs of the Romans in Tuſcany. If they marched by the ſea-ſide, the Gauls might have deceived his vigilance; if they purſued the road of Bologna and Valdimugello [41], the general muſt have been too weak to reſiſt them, and therefore felt the neceſſity of allowing them to ravage with impunity the rich Tuſcan paſtures [42]. They got poſſeſſion of an immenſe booty in cattle and ſlaves. Proud of following the footſteps of their anceſtors, they advanced to Cluſium, on the ſtraight road to the capital. There they heard that the prætor, who had perhaps received a reinforcement, purſued them by forced marches. They changed their direction in order to meet him; and on the evening of the firſt day's march, the two armies were in ſight of each other. Both ſides fortified their camp. If we examine the road by Cluſium to Arezzo in the Valdichiana, we ſhall find the villages of Lucignana and Sinalunga ſituated at a convenient diſtance [43]. The Romans had occupied an excellent camp; and the barbarians, notwithſtanding their impetuoſity, thought it wiſer to withdraw them from it by ſtra-

gem, than to diſlodge them by force. They marched with their whole infantry, left their fires burning to deceive the Romans, as well as their cavalry, who might continually haraſs them until they were drawn to the place to which they wiſhed to decoy them. The prætor fell into the ſnare, and was puniſhed for his credulity by a bloody defeat. He with much difficulty retired to an eminence, and defended himſelf till the arrival of the conſul Emilius, who by forced marches had paſſed the Apennines. His arrival ſaved the prætor; and the Gauls now thought only of ſecuring their booty, and making their retreat along the ſea-coaſt. The narrative of Polybius is clear; and if Caſaubon had taken the ſenſe of the paſſage as well as Mr. Guazzeſi, the text of this great hiſtorian would no longer contain any geographical difficulties. He ſays of the retreat of the Gauls, Ποιησαμενοι την ὑποχωρησιν ὡς επι πολιν Φαισολαν. If we tranſlate the words *Fæſulas tendunt* we ſuppoſe the Gauls to perform a march almoſt incredible, and to make a movement altogether abſurd, ſince it implies that the Romans purſued their cavalry ſixty miles without putting them to the route. Theſe difficulties are increaſed when we follow the Gauls to Fæſulæ and the foot of the Apennines; and as is impoſſible to underſtand how they can retreat to Telamon, we adopt the opinion of Cluverius, in preferring on this occaſion the authority of Oroſius to that of Polybius, and ſuppoſing that the laſt battle was fought near to Arezzo. Why ſhould not the words ὡς επι Φαισολαν *verſus Fæſulas* be tranſlated *in the direction of Fæſulæ*, according to the moſt natural ſignification and the

easiest construction? The Gauls then pursued th road from Clusium to Fæsulæ, but had scarcel concealed themselves behind the chain of hills whic separates the Duchy of Tuscany from the district Sienna, when they were obliged to come to an e gagement. Thanks to the happy discovery of M Guazzesi, the whole plan of the campaign is unr velled *. The Romans retired to one of those hill and by dispatching couriers across the thick wood by which they were covered, communicated th news of their situation to the consul.

Why did the Barbarians prefer the road by th coast to that of Valdimugello, which is far shorter Why did they not traverse the country in a right lin in order to arrive at the mouth of the Arno, an then follow the coast to the openings of the hills Valdimagra? We are sure that Port Telamon is near than the mountains of Sienna to Rome. Mr. Guazze well explains these difficulties, by the changes whic time has effected in the nature of the country, and b our ignorance whether this route was not the on one practicable for an army; by the preference give by the Gauls to the plain country, where they cou avail themselves of their numerous cavalry, and b the hope of meeting with piratical vessels belongi to their own nation or the Ligurians, in which th might transport their booty without difficulty danger. But I believe it will be necessary to penetra into the motives by which the Barbarians we actuated, before we can fairly appreciate th conduct in passing from fury to dismay; and in marc ing up to their enemies, merely that they might

efore them, eſpecially after they had juſt taſted he ſweets of victory. The Gallic army was governed y two principles extremely different. The Ciſalpine ations perceived that ſuch a war could only termiate in their own deſtruction or that of the Romans. They fought like men, who had their deareſt intereſts t ſtake; but their allies the Geſatæ were not animaed by a ſimilar ſpirit. Theſe troops were not a nation, ut rather an aſſemblage from different nations, who ad paſſed the Alps merely for the ſake of plunder, nd who wiſhed to ſecure their booty by a ſpeedy etreat, without longer expoſing their perſons in a war which did not concern them. Their leader Anocreſtes was the firſt who propoſed this meaſure; nd as the age was ignorant of the principles of georaphy, and the Barbarians were unacquainted both with the country and the language, they could only hape their route by the courſe of thoſe rivers which, ſwelled to torrents, had forced their paſſage through he leaſt obſtructed vallies. They were then near the ource of the Umbro; and as that river flows from he ſouth-weſt, they muſt have approached Rome, s they came to its mouth near Port Telamon. If the Ciſalpine Gauls, who were better acquainted with he country, were loath to leave it; there is reaſon o think that they would with pleaſure avail themſelves of this circumſtance.

I ſay that they followed the courſe of the Umbro ill they came to its mouth, although Port Telamon e eighteen miles nearer to Rome. But we learn from a aſſage of Frontinus's Stratagems, that they entered he plain at Colonia; and that the Boii poſted ten

thouſand men in a wood in that neighbourhood. Th conſul Æmilius diſcovered the ambuſh, and cut th enemy in pieces. Critics, to whom the name o Colonia was unknown, have endeavoured in thei uſual way to explain or correct it. This place, no Colonna, was called Columnata in the middle ages it is a village in the territory of Groſſetto, betwee the mouth of the Umbro and Lake Caſtiglione, o Aprilis "; and was the ſcene of the battle, whic derives its name from Port Telamon, a place fa better known.

Hiſtory informs us, that the conſul Æmilius con tinued to follow the army of the Barbarians withou venturing to provoke them to a battle; and that, b a ſingular chance, his colleague Atilius, who ha diſembarked his army at Piſa, unexpectedly fell i with their vanguard; that a battle enſued, in which that conſul was ſlain; while Æmilius, on his ſide having alſo attacked the enemy, obtained a complet victory, deſtroyed the whole Barbarian army, an gave the mortal wound to the liberty of the Ciſalpin Gauls. Of all thoſe circumſtances, I find mo difficulty in underſtanding the ſurpriſe of Atilius He could not have left his province of Sardini without the orders of the ſenate. His inſtruction muſt have required him to gain information, bot of the motions of the enemy and of thoſe of his co leagues, in concert with whom he was to act. Thi duty was eaſily performed in a friendly country where the conſternation of the people and the fligh of the peaſants loudly proclaimed the approach of th Barbarians. In whatever manner this may be explain

d, the Gallic army, attacked in front and rear by wo Roman conſuls, advancing in contrary direc- ions, will always, in my opinion, wear the aſpect f a well combined project, rather than of a military eglect, hardly conceivable. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *.

Mr Guazzeſi is of opinion that Tuſcany formerly bounded in foreſts; and that the diſtricts of Cortona, Arezzo, and Fæſulæ were entirely covered with them. The extent of the Ciminian wood is well known. In he year of the city 444, Livy tells us, that there was foreſt near Cluſium. During the Punic wars, the Romans brought their timber for ſhip-building from Luſellæ, Perugia, and Cluſium; and wood abounded n the territories of Sienna, Volaterra, and Populo- ium, whoſe inhabitants wrought the iron from the land of Elba. Flavius Vopiſcus obſerves, that in he time of Aurelian there was a great quantity of wood near the Aurelian way; and Strabo extends he remark to all Tuſcany. By digging into the Valdichiana, even near the ſurface, the workmen will find trees of a prodigious ſize, which are now petrified. Need we appeal to the ancient names and pithets of the country, *la Farneta; Alberoſo, Fraſſi- etto, Cereto, la Selve;* or to the obligations impoſed n the communities in thoſe parts, as late as the eventh century, of furniſhing yearly to their lords certain number of wild boars?

N° VII.

Upon the TRIUMPHS of the ROMANS.

ROME, 28th November 17

ROMULUS was ſoon obliged to take arms again the little cities of the Sabines, whom the rape their daughters had juſtly provoked againſt his rifi ſtate. Acron, king of the Cioinians, was the fi victim of Roman valor. He fell by the hand Romulus; and his ſubjects had the good fortune be allowed to unite with the new colony. The co queror was eager to reap the firſt fruits of his glo Driving before him herds and priſoners, and attend by the companions of his victory, he entered t city amidſt public acclamation, and aſcended t Capitoline hill, in order to depoſit his trophies a his gratitude in the temple which he had dedicated Jupited Feretrius. By this ceremony, military virt was for ever aſſociated with religion in the imagi tion of the Romans. Such was the origin of t triumph, *an inſtitution which proved the principal ca of the greatneſs of Rome* [17]. Three hundred and twen triumphs [18] raiſed her to that exaltation, which had attained under the reign of Veſpaſian. I ventu to ſubmit the following reflections on the right triumph, the road through which it proceeded, a the ſhow itſelf.

The right of triumph may be conſidered und three aſpects. 1. The authority by which it w conferred; 2. the perſons upon whom; and, 3 t reaſons for which it was granted.

1. Under the royal government, I ſhould ſuppo

at the kings, whose authority was as independent military as it was limited in civil affairs, entered the y in triumph, whenever they thought themselves titled to that honor; and thus dispensed in their wn favor the benefits of an institution which had en established by their predecessor. After the exlsion of Tarquin, the senate, which had been the uncil of the prince, and was now that of the nation, turally assumed the power of dispensing military wards [19]. The senate conferred on Valerius Publila the honor of a triumph for having defeated the arquins in that battle in which Brutus was slain. om this æra, the triumph possessed a real value in e opinion of all acquainted with true glory. This remony was no longer a vain show, fitted merely dazzle the populace; but a solemnity in which a eritorious consul found the best of all panegyrics; e praise of his equals and of his rivals. Some Senators d attained, many of them aspired to, the triumph; d as all of them felt an interest in keeping untarished an honor which was in some measure their wn, they judged the candidate with a severity as utary for the state as glorious for himself. The nate considered this right as its most precious prero-ve; preserved it in reality to the last days of the public; and affected to preserve it to the latest times the empire. It once had the pain to see itself vested of this right, and to feel that it justly merited e punishment. In the year of Rome 305, Valerius d Horatius, the two consuls who had abolished e Decemvirate, gained two complete victories er the Volsci, the Equi, and the Sabines; but their

conduct too partial to the populace, and their eage
neſs in proſecuting the Decemvirs, drew on the
the hatred of the leaders of the ſenate, who pitie
their unfortunate kinſmen, at the ſame time that the
deteſted their crimes. The ſenate refuſed to the
conſuls the honor of a triumph "; affording there
an example highly pernicious in a free ſtate, of bei
influenced in the diſtribution of military favors b
the party which the generals take in politics.
conſequence of this injuſtice, a tribune appealed
the people, who ſeized with pleaſure the opportuni
of at once rewarding their favorites, and of extendi
their own power. Valerius and Horatius triumphe
without the conſent of the ſenate; to which, hov
ever, the people reſtored a prerogative, which the
themſelves had uſurped on this particular occaſion.
am not ignorant that this politic council, which ha
ages of wiſdom and only moments of paſſion, ende
voured, by the impartiality and prudence of i
decrees, to confirm its precarious authority; an
that the public at large profited by its fears. It cou
not indeed but fear the deciſion of a delicate queſtio
reſpecting its own conſtitution. Since the decre
of the people ſuperſeded the beſt eſtabliſhed rights
the ſenate, in what other light could that ſenate b
regarded, but as a commiſſion delegated by th
people, for the purpoſe of exerciſing rights, whic
thoſe who had conferred them might at pleaſu
reſume? The patrician party were glad to have th
ſenate conſidered as the repreſentatives of their ow
order, as the comitia tributa repreſented the plebeian
Agreeably to this principle, theſe two bodies unite

mpoſed the commonwealth; but each of them art enjoyed its ſacred and inviolable rights. The nſent of the ſenate opened the gates to the triumphal r; but the people were entitled to ſtop its career. pon entering the Pomœrium, all military command aſed; and the conſuls, who were generals abroad, came ſimple magiſtrates in Rome; which acknowdged no other authority than that of the laws. Yet e triumphant general returned at the head of his gions, and continued to appear in a military aracter. To reconcile reſpect for the laws with e glory due to conquerors, the ſenate always proſed continuing the general in his command during e day of his triumph. The people uſually acceded this propoſal; which they were entitled, however, reject; and which they had nearly rejected, in der to hinder the triumph of Paulus Emilius.

2. Thoſe only could demand a triumph who had en inveſted with ſupreme command. The diſpline of the Romans would never have allowed a bune or a lieutenant, to apply to the ſenate for the ward of his ſervices. What reward could a ſubern deſerve, whoſe only virtues were thoſe of lor and obedience; virtues which it was the duty his general to remunerate. The principle of litary ſubordination was carried ſo far, that a comnder in chief appropriated the glory of his moſt ſtant lieutenants", who were conſidered as inbted for their ſucceſs merely to the orders which he d given to them". The emperors therefore, as e heads of the army, were alone entitled to triumph the victories which their genius had obtained, at

the ſame time on the Rhine and the Euphrates. O
this occaſion, alſo, we may perceive the perpet
connexion, among the Romans, of religion a
policy. The people, in conferring the ſupre
command, conferred with it the right of taking
auſpices, and of interrogating the gods, concern
the fortune of the ſtate. This ſacred prerogati
eſtabliſhed a peculiar connexion between the gene
and the gods of his country. He alone co
interrogate them, and, ſolicit their favor by vo
which the ſtate was bound to perform. Wh
his prayers were heard, it belonged, therefore,
him in particular, to demonſtrate the public gr
tude to the gods; and to lay at their feet hoſtile ſp
and victorious trophies. To the martial ſuperſtit
of the Romans, no offerings could appear m
acceptable.

In the firſt ages of the republic, it was eaſy for
conſuls and prætors to unite with their civil funct
the management of campaigns, which conſiſted o
in marches of a few days, immediately followed b
battle. But when Rome was obliged to act, both of
ſively, and deſenſively in all the provinces of Italy
Sicily, Spain, and Africa; it became neceſſary to
creaſe the number of generals, and to extend the m
tary command of the conſuls and prætors beyond
term aſſigned for their civil authority. Theſe p
conſuls and proprætors finally became the o
generals of the ſtate; and in conſequence of
weight of affairs which increaſed with the exten
the empire, although the ſame perſons continue
exerciſe both civil and military functions, yet t

aſed to exerciſe them ſimultaneouſly. Theſe ex-
aordinary magiſtrates, who enjoyed the ſame
cred prerogatives as when they were conſuls and
ætors, were entitled alſo to demand a triumph, when
eir exploits merited that honor. It would have
en unjuſt indeed to debar them from this reward,
d to blaſt their laurels, becauſe the diſtance of the
ovince and the difficulty of the war had prevented
em from terminating it in a ſingle campaign. During
e ſecond Punic war, young Scipio demanded a
umph, which he had fairly earned, by avenging
e death of his uncles, and by recovering for the
ublic the great province of Spain. His ſituation
as as ſingular as his ſervices. His own boldneſs and
e favor of the people had raiſed him to ſupreme
mmand at the age of twenty-four. He became a
neral without having ever been a magiſtrate. It
peared dangerous to accuſtom the favorites of the
ople to deſpiſe civil employments, and to open for
emſelves ſhorter roads to power. By refuſing a
umph to Scipio, the Romans proteſted in favor
maxims which themſelves had violated: the
ople were taught to underſtand that their authority
s ſubordinate to the laws; and that raſh ambition
s ſuppreſſed, which might too probably have been
flamed by the ſucceſs of Scipio in ſeparating the
ward of military glory from the honors of civil
giſtracy. The ſenate maintained the cauſe of
ſdom and of diſcipline; and the conqueror ſub-
tted to their refuſal. This decree, which was
nded on reaſons of ſtate, rather felt than expreſſed,
me to be conſidered as the law of triumphs; which

the people never granted to any but magiſtrates: t
precedent in the caſe of Scipio was thenceforth de
ſive. The ſtrict ſenſe of this decree allowed a triumph
only to thoſe conſuls and prætors whoſe magiſtracy
had been prolonged by the people; but both reaſon
and cuſtom extended this honor to citizens inveſted
by public authority with the power belonging to
offices" which they had formerly filled; the indul-
gence of the ſenate obliterating, as it were, the years
which had elapſed ſince the term of their employment,
and conſidering them as ſtill bearing a character which
they had once honorably ſuſtained. I know not how
far the ſenate extended this indulgence; and whether
it allowed, for example, the triumph to a prætor for
a former year, when inveſted with proconſular
authority. I am inclined to think that this wiſe
council never anticipated the deciſions of caſes which
had not actually happened; and that according
to circumſtances it would have extended the right of
triumph even to a proconſul, who had never borne
any other magiſtracy than the ædileſhip. The ædile,
having attained at leaſt the age of thirty-eight, might
have been known for twenty years in the army and
in the city. His talents and his character might have
been appreciated by his behaviour in the quæſtorſhip;
and his political principles could not fail of being dis-
covered in the ſenate. But both the letter and the
ſpirit of this decree excluded from triumphal honors
the ſimple citizen or knight, that the laws might not
be ſuſpended even in favor of the moſt diſtinguiſhed
merit. The authority of theſe laws became ſo firmly
roughly eſtabliſhed, that the people no longer ſought
to

diſpenſe their favors, but agreeably to the order ich they preſcribed. I know that young Pompey, ile yet a ſimple knight, forced the dictator Sylla to nt him a triumph, at that unhappy criſis when the ws were overwhelmed by the power of individuals". hough the ſenate afterwards beſtowed on him a ilar power, the authority of Pompey, and the huſiaſtic admiration of the multitude, juſtified indulgence which would not be conſtrued into a cedent.

. It is well known that the victorious general, at return to Rome, aſſembled the ſenators in a ple without the walls, and explained to them his pretenſions to a triumph, by ſupplying them h a written narrative of his victory, confirmed by lemn oath. The form by which Claudius Nero Livius Salinator demanded a triumph for their tory at Metaurus was that employed by the ſubſe- nt generals. They requeſted that thanks might rendered to the gods; and that they themſelves ht be allowed to enter the city in triumph, for ir faithful and courageous management of the irs of the republic". I am of opinion that condition, which admitted of great latitude nterpretation from the prudence and equity of judges, was the only one eſſential, although eral writers ſuppoſe a variety of particular laws, ich controlled the deliberations of the ſenate, and ppelled them either to admit or to reject the pre- ions of thoſe who demanded a triumph". Yet e writers have not been able to bring forward, on ſubject, any thing deſerving the ſacred name of

a law. The particulars which they mention are
ferred from a few examples, the force of which
deſtroyed by others directly oppoſite; and they c
not but perceive that he who maintains the negat
againſt them, overturns, by a ſingle fact, all the p
babilities which they can accumulate.

They lay it down as a law of the triumph, tha
general could not claim that honor, who had no
a pitched battle killed five thouſand of the enem
and ſuppoſe that he was entitled to demand it, up
fulfilling this ſingle condition, as the due recompe
of his merit. Yet it is not eaſy to believe that in
preciating military ſervices, the ſenate ſhould h
been guided by a circumſtance ſo exceedingly
certain as the number of the ſlain. On how ma
occaſions might a general deſerve the warmeſt gr
tude of the republic, without contenting thoſe
arithmeticians who calculated the quantity of hum
blood with ſuch ſcrupulous accuracy? If he car
on war againſt the effeminate nations of the E
whoſe cowardice was alarmed even by the war-ſho
of the legions, a victory almoſt bloodleſs might
him in poſſeſſion of a whole kingdom. A comman
ſparing of the blood of his fellow-citizens, might th
military talents more honorably diſplayed in the
and ſucceſs of a campaign, than in the blind fort
and havock of a day of battle. His well-contrived
well executed movements might deprive the enem
every reſource, without excepting that of an enga
ment; and compel them to ſurrender their a
and their perſons, a price undiminiſhed by any lo
the field. Towns ſtrongly fortified by art or nat

defended by garrisons more obstinate than nume-
s, might oppose obstacles worthy of exercising
he skill and perseverance of a general; who, by
ying such places, might often terminate wars as
densome to the republic as pernicious to the pro-
ces. I shall exemplify only the second of those
s; and my example shall be that of the younger
io, whose glory equalled that of his uncle,
gh he had never conquered an Hannibal; and
triumphed twice, without having ever fought
ngle pitched battle. By taking Carthage and
mantium, he obtained those triumphs, and two
ames, still more glorious. Yet, in the course of
esieges, it is impossible to find an action in which
thousand of the enemy perished; and there are
ors who affirm, that those brave Numantines who
ted with such perseverance and success the forces
e republic, never exceeded four thousand men,
ose numbers were multiplied only by their valor.
nother regulation is mentioned, not less wise,
just as well founded as that already stated. A
mph, it is said, could be obtained only by the
queror who had never previously acknowledged
authority of the Romans; the reduction of a
lted province did not suffice; the senate made
count of victories which did not extend the fron-
of the empire. In this supposed regulation, it seems
e as if the heroism of romance were substituted
ad of the dictates of prudence and true honor.
a province the less valuable to the Romans be-
e it had been long in their possession, peopled by
numerous colonies, and enriched by their at-

tention in improving its natural and artificial adv
tages? Was the honor of the republic more conce
ed in ſubduing free nations, who had ſcarcely e
heard of the name of Rome, than in ſuppreſſing
rebellion of a revolted province, which upbraid
her injuſtice, defied her power, and ſeduced b
dangerous example the allegiance of her other ſ
jects? Was a leſs obſtinate reſiſtance to be expe
from a people who had no other choice than vict
or death, whoſe generals and even ſoldiers
learned war under the Roman ſtandard, than fr
thoſe barbarous nations, whoſe ſlighteſt ſubmiſſi
were readily accepted by a ſenate, always cont
with merely impoſing the yoke at firſt, that its wei
might afterwards be more ſeverely felt? In one w
were the wars againſt revolted provinces regarde
too unimportant to merit the only reward worth
a victorious general? The exiſtence of ſuch a reg
tion could be proved only by the moſt deciſive f
but the facts on record are directly againſt it. I
not avail myſelf of the numerous triumphs over c
munities, a hundred times conquered, to wh
the Romans granted very unequal condition
peace, and treated rather as ſubjects than allie
but when Titus and his father triumphed over
Jews, and when the ſenate commemorated their
tories by medals, and that triumphal arch which
ſubſiſted to the preſent day, they did nothing
than triumph over a revolted province, which
been ſubdued by the arms of Pompey, and gove
by Roman magiſtrates for the ſpace of fifty year
agree with Onuphrius Panvinius, that Fulvi

t obtain a triumph for the important conqueſt of pua. Of the reaſons which made the ſenate refuſe to him, I am ignorant; it is uncertain whether ſtice or intrigue defeated the proſpects of this pro-nſul; but I know that nearly about the ſame time, bius Maximus triumphed for the conqueſt of rentum", a city which had acknowledged the vereignty of Rome ever ſince the war againſt Pyr-hus. I go farther; and obſerve, that Rome more n once experienced thoſe diſaſters, which made her duty to beſtow the higheſt marks of her titude on thoſe generals who had ſaved their untry, without adding a foot of ground to its terri-y. Neither Scipio nor Pompey, but Camillus d Marius, were aſſociated with Romulus, in the norable appellation of Founders of Rome. Theſe at men repreſſed the inundations of the Barbarians, d deſtroyed their armies; but never thought of rſuing them into their own wilds, with the ſitua-n of which they were ſcarcely acquainted. What ſt have been the abſurdity of a law, which denied ſuch men the triumph, while it laviſhed that honor proprætors, whoſe names are known only by the pitoline records?

Hic *tamen & Cimbros, & ſumma pericula rerum*
Excipit, & ſolus trepidantem protegit urbem.
Atque ideo poſtquam ad Cimbros, ſtragemque volabant
Qui nunquam attigerant majora cadavera corvi,
Nobilis ornatur lauro *collega* ſecundâ".

t may be aſked with greater probability, whether

the ſenate was ſatisfied with a ſingle victory? whether, to have a right to demand the triumph, was not neceſſary to terminate the war by ſubdu the enemy, or at leaſt by making a treaty adv tageous to the republic. In ſuch a regulation, I ſho perceive nothing but the wiſdom of the ſenate, wh was careful not to debaſe its honors by too lavi prodigality; and which itſelf, always ſovereign a free, knew how to refuſe to a preſumptuous gene who courted the triumph by inglorious conqu over unworthy enemies. But in deciding accord to facts, and by facts we ought to decide, I perce that the conduct of the ſenate varied in different a of the republic; and that the cauſe of this variat depended on a circumſtance altogether diſtinct fr the merit of the general. It was cuſtomary that t brave citizens who had ſhared his dangers ſho alſo partake of the glory of his triumph. The ſoldi followed his chariot, crowned with laurels, a decorated with the military ornaments, which th valor had merited [*]. They appropriated to the ſelves the honors conferred on their command and this commander derived his ſweeteſt reward fr the praiſes of his ſoldiers, and ſtill more from th coarſe raillery, the ſureſt mark of their frankneſs a eſteem. During the firſt wars of the republic, wh Rome contended againſt enemies in her neighbo hood, and unprovided with regular troops, t victorious conſul brought back his legions to t capital, and the troops needed no other winter-qu ters than their reſpective homes. I perceive that in a the moſt obſervant of diſcipline, the ſenate gran

umphs for victories which decided the fortune of a mpaign, without terminating the war. Fabius illianus was allowed to triumph over the Tuſ- ns, Umbrians, Samnites, and Gauls [11]. The ate well knew that the confederacy of thoſe tions was conquered without being ſubdued; and t the victory of Fabius had given neither poſſeſ- ns nor peace to his country. In the war againſt nnibal, the ſenate indeed varied its conduct, but principles were unalterable. Rome was obliged act on the defenſive in all the provinces of Italy at ce. Whenever a conſiderable victory allowed r to withdraw the army employed in one of thoſe ovinces, ſhe granted a triumph to its general, that might not be ſeparated from his troops. When e ſenate decreed a triumph to Livius Salinator [12], s colleague Nero followed his car on horſeback, d ſwelled the train of him whom he had enabled to nquer. One reaſon for this was, that the army of vius had returned to Rome, and that the troops mmanded by Nero could not be recalled becauſe ey then oppoſed Hannibal. When Rome attacked e great powers of Greece, the Eaſt, and Africa, her gions did not recroſs the ſea until they had ſubdued e countries which they invaded. Triumphs in thoſe ars were purchaſed only by conqueſts; and, in con- quence of the excellence of thoſe laws whoſe execu- on varies with the nature of things, rather than with e paſſions of men, the increaſing majeſty of the umph kept pace with the growing greatneſs of the te. But from the time that Marius polluted the gions by a mixture of the vileſt populace, war be-

came a trade inſtead of a duty; the troops remained i
the provinces; and, in diſbanding or calling home th
legions, the ſenate obeyed the maxims of policy rathe
than thoſe of juſtice. It became the cuſtom to crow
generals, who, after once conquering an enemy, left i
for their ſucceſſors to ſubdue him, and who conducte
back to Rome only a ſmall band of officers and ſo
diers who were peculiarly attached to them, and wh
were beſt qualified to grace their triumph. I ſhall cit
only the example of Lucullus. He triumphed for hi
victories over the great Mithridates, ſo often conque
ed, yet always ſo formidable. A glance at Cicero's or
tion in favor of the Manilian law, will convince us tha
the Romans were far from thinking this war conclude

Theſe obſervations are ſufficient to prove th
there never exiſted a code of triumphal laws, ſuc
as the fancies of Appian of Alexandria and Onup
rius Panvinius have thought fit to compile. Th
Egyptian rhetorician and Auguſtine hermit, bein
alike unqualified for ſounding the profound policy
the ſenate, have conſidered as general laws wh
were only particular examples. The ſpirit of th
wiſe tribunal, which knew ſo well how to uni
prudence with juſtice, formed to itſelf a living law
which comprehended all that variety of caſes, co
cerning many of which the dead letter of writte
laws muſt ever be ſilent, imperfect, or contradictor
The ſenate compared the abilities of the general wi
the character of the enemy, the importance of th
acquiſition with the wiſdom or good fortune wi
which it had been obtained, and the facility of th
conqueſt with the means employed in effecting i

The aged ſenators, whoſe authority guided the votes of their aſſeſſors, had grown old in military command; and granted rewards whoſe worth they could eſtimate, to generals whoſe worth they were capable of appreciating. I perceive alſo, that they were no leſs attentive to the ſafety of the citizens than to the glory of the ſtate; and more than once refuſed triumphs to victorious conſuls, who had purchaſed their advantages by an unneceſſary or uſeleſs prodigality of Roman blood *. They thought it their duty to repreſs the cruel ambition of leaders, by refuſing to them a triumphant return into a city which their exploits had filled which mourning.

There was, as far as I can diſcover, but one preciſe condition always required by the ſenate, namely, the rank or quality of the enemy. The triumph would have been diſgraced by granting it for victories over ſlaves or pirates; *their* blood too vile, and that of the citizens too precious, equally blaſted the laurels of a victorious general.

It belongs to the civil magiſtrate, rather than to the military commander, to curb the audacity of malefactors, who ſet at defiance juſtice and the laws. When bands of robbers become ſo numerous that they muſt be oppoſed by a military force, ſuch wars have always been regarded as more neceſſary than difficult, and more difficult than glorious. The weakneſs and tyranny of maſters made the ſlaves in Sicily twice ſhake off the yoke. The Romans were aſhamed to employ their legions againſt ſuch ignoble adverſaries; but their ſhame was greater to ſee thoſe legions defeated; and when their generals finally ſucceeded in repreſſing the inſurrection, the ſenate

was ſenſible that it had often decreed a triumph fo
leſs meritorious exploits. Yet the name of ſlav
was not to be got over; the ſenate feared leſt th
triumph ſhould be profaned; to deny it ſeemed no
pregnant with very evil conſequences. The victo
rious generals; therefore, were honored only wit
an ovation; which gave to them crowns of myrtle
inſtead of thoſe of laurel; and entitled them to b
attended with a train of peaceful citizens, not by
military proceſſion. The Romans reaſonably expecte
that the dreadful diſcipline thenceforth eſtabliſhe
reſpecting ſlaves would in future prevent ſimila
revolts. But, by a ſtrange combination of circum
ſtances, the republic was obliged in the ſame age t
carry on two obſtinate wars againſt pirates and gl
diators; the one of which endangered the commerc
and dignity of the empire, and the other threatene
the deſtruction of the Roman name. Could th
ſenate foreſee ſuch events, or uniformly decree th
triumph according to rules previouſly eſtabliſhed
But when Craſſus had ruined the army of Spartacu
the wiſdom of the ſenate perceived that the public di
grace would be commemorated rather than the glor
of the general, by granting to him a triumph for te
minating a ſervile war. The partiſans of Pompe
would naturally employ on this occaſion the elo
quence of Cicero; and would be themſelves hear
with pleaſure by the people, when they aſcribed t
their favorite almoſt the whole merit of this exploi
Afterwards, when the ſame Pompey ſubdued th
pirates, the pride of two triumphs, and the laure
which he expected to reap in the Mithridatic wa

made him disdain the honor of an ovation, which Crassus had accepted; and which thenceforth became, in the estimation of the Romans, the natural reward for such victories.

Pride, opposite as it is to contempt, produced in the present case precisely the same effects; the Romans refused to triumph over slaves, the objects of their contempt; and over citizens who were the objects of their esteem. The conquerors in the civil wars might have extorted from the senate the rewards most flattering to their vanity; but, though masters of the laws, they still respected the public opinion, and the prejudices of their country, from which they themselves were not perhaps totally exempted. They were afraid of degrading the dignity of the Roman name by treating their fellow-citizens like conquered kings; and even Sylla, who ventured to kill by his proscriptions so many senators and knights, would have been ashamed to drag them after his triumphal chariot, and to have thanked the gods of the capitol for melancholy victories, which it was his duty to wish buried in eternal oblivion. I am persuaded that those tyrants of their country, Sylla, Cæsar, and Augustus, who knew the dignity of the laws which they violated, and the disposition of the people whom they oppressed, dreaded to provoke their despair, by presenting to the public eye, in an offensive show, the picture of lost liberty, and the illustrious victims sacrificed to ambition. Cæsar himself was mortified at hearing the lamentations of public sorrow, when the images of Scipio, Cato, and Petreius passed in the train of his African triumph[65]. If the image of the great Pompey had not been cautiously concealed, what was grief might have

become fury in a people, whoſe only conſolation for ſlavery was, that it was artfully diſguiſed. But if, on one hand, ſatiated ambition could ſtill retain the juſtice of feeling itſelf undeſerving of the rewards of virtue, avenged liberty might ſurely decree to its reſtorers the laurel as well as the civic crown. During the ſhort joy inſpired into the ſenate by the news of the battle of Modena, Cicero "propoſed a reſolution to which Cato would have been happy to have acceded. He granted, in honor of the conſuls and young Octavius, a ſupplication or thankſgiving of fifty days; and the name of Imperator. He could not have refuſed them the triumph which uſually followed theſe honors; and it appears that he foreſaw the conſequence without alarm. "Shall we grant," he obſerved in the ſenate, "rewards to thoſe who "have killed a thouſand Barbarians, which we deny "to the ſaviour of the republic. Let us forget in "Antony and his adherents the character of citizens "juſtly loſt by their violation of all its duties. Rome "ought to ſee in them nothing but enemies equally "cruel, and a hundred times more deſerving of "puniſhment than Hannibal himſelf." The only objection that could have been made to Cicero was the defeat of Catiline, whoſe conqueror had not obtained a triumph. But that conqueror was the feeble-minded Antonius who had not ſpirit to act the part either of a conſpirator or of a citizen, and who tamely ſubmitted to behold the deſtruction of his ancient friends by the arms of his lieutenant Petreius. Cicero would have been pleaſed to add, that Catiline had been conquered by himſelf in the ſenate; and that

his conſpirator, who was formidable only in Rome, became, from the moment of his flight from the capital, no better than the leader of a miſerable band of robbers.

The ſubverters of liberty, who were unwilling that their exploits ſhould be forgotten in fighting againſt their country, endeavoured, like the great Condé, to contrive means for immortalizing their glory without perpetuating the memory of their crimes. For the oſtentation of a triumph, they ſubſtituted the more modeſt ceremony of an ovation, in which the victors were honored, and the vanquiſhed were not inſulted. It was thus that Auguſtus returned to Rome after the defeat of Brutus and Caſſius; and after the war in Sicily, and his victory over young Pompey. As the civil wars involved the whole Roman world, and each factious leader had kings and nations for his allies, the triumph openly expoſed only thoſe foreign allies, and left to the imagination of the Romans the ſupplying of the domeſtic victims which the conqueror had the addreſs to appear willing to conceal. Auguſtus triumphed for the defeat of the Egyptian fleet at Actium, and the conqueſt of Egypt. He ſuppreſſed the name of Anthony and his lieutenants; but who did not recollect them at hearing that of Cleopatra? This artifice was employed ſo late as the reign of Veſpaſian [67], when the name of the Sarmatians was uſed to juſtify the triumphal honors decreed by the ſenate to Mucianus for his ſervices in the civil war.

There remain many obſervations to be made on the right of triumphs; the title of Imperator; the

triumphs on Mount Alba; and the triumphal ornaments. But we have already detained our generals too long at the gates of Rome. It is time to conduct them into the city, and to examine the road which they followed in aſcending the capitol.

Concerning the TRIUMPHAL ROAD.

I AT firſt thought that the triumphs did not follow any particular road; and that the gate through which they entered into the city, as well as the ſtreets through which they paſſed to the foot of the capitol, depended on the ſituation of the country which had been the theatre of the war. The triumphs, I conſidered, were nothing but a picture of the general's return. Amidſt all the artificial decorations of pride and magnificence, there muſt have been an inclination to confine them within the bounds of nature and probability. When Paulus Emilius returned from the conqueſt of Macedon, he muſt have purſued the Appian way to the Porta Capena; and the conquerors of the northern provinces muſt have entered Rome through the gates diſtinguiſhed by the names Flaminia and Collina. A paſſage of Cicero firſt made me change this opinion. In his bloody invective againſt Piſo, the orator ſets before his eyes his ſhameful return to Rome, a return truly worthy of his ſcandalous adminiſtration. To the numerous train, the acclamations, and the public joy by which victorious proconſuls were conſtantly attended, and which already gave them a foretaſte of their triumph, he ſets in oppoſition the contempt or obſcurity with

which Piso had returned from a province, that would have afforded laurels to every man but himself": "Dreading," he observes, "to meet the light and the eyes of men, you dismissed your lictors at the Cælimontane gate." Piso foolishly enough interrupted him, "You are mistaken; I entered by the Esquiline." "What matters that," rejoined the orator, "provided you did not enter by the *porta triumphalis*, a gate always open to your predecessors?" The consequence naturally follows; that triumphant generals entered by a gate which was open for them alone. This custom raised the dignity of the triumph by clearly distinguishing it from an ordinary return; and was worthy of the policy of the Romans, who regarded no circumstance as unimportant which had a tendency to affect the imagination of the multitude. Cicero's authority proves that such an institution prevailed in his time; and the nature of the thing persuades me that it was still more ancient. In enlightened ages, men seldom venture to establish customs which are respectable only in their end and purpose. The people, who respectfully follow the wisdom of their ancestors, would despise that of their contemporaries; and would regard such establishments merely in that point of view which laid them open to ridicule. Romulus, besides, when he instituted the triumph, fixed by his example, not only the place where the trophies were to be deposited, but the road which the procession was to follow. Conformably to his example, all those who afterwards entered in triumph came to adore the Jupiter of the capitol. I am persuaded they also came by the same road which

Romulus had traced; and which, in the eyes
poſterity, muſt have acquired the character of ſa
tity. Who would have been the firſt to venture
change the route of this ancient proceſſion, to d
piſe an authority fortified by time, and to forſake t
footſteps of the founder of Rome and of the triumph
What could be the motive for ſuch an innovatio
ſince the example of Romulus was ſurely ſufficient
determine a choice totally indifferent in itſelf? H
there been any of the triumphant generals of ſo ve
extraordinnary a temper as to deſpiſe ancient ce
monies which were highly flattering to their o
perſonal glory, would the wiſdom of the ſenate ha
indulged ſo very unreaſonable a caprice; and ha
ſubſtituted, for the revered inſtitution of their a
ceſtors, an innovation proceeding from no w
rantable motive, and terminating in no uſeful en
Romulus choſe the Capitoline Mount as a place

Religione patrum, & ſævâ formidine ſacrum;

and doubtleſs purſued the ſhorteſt and moſt con
nient road in his return from Cenina. Amidſt t
different accounts of authors concerning this city,
may form a general notion of its ſituation. So
place it in the territory of the Sabines, others in t
of the Latins; which makes me believe that it ſto
in that ſlip of ground on the banks of the An
where the colonies of the two nations were mix
and confounded with each other *". The differ
lines which may be drawn from this diſtrict to Ro
meet in the Campus Martius. The ſide of the Ca
toline

line hill which faces the Campus Martius is rude
d almoſt inacceſſible. Romulus therefore was under
e neceſſity of making a circuit, either by the valley
tween the Quirinal and Capitoline hills, or by the
in which lies between the latter and the Tiber.
he gate of which we are inqueſt ought to be found
thin theſe limits. A chain of conjectural evidence
ds me to this concluſion, which facts alone can ſub-
ntiate [70]. Among the extraordinary honors deſign-
for the memory of Auguſtus, it was propoſed that
funeral proceſſion ſhould paſs through the trium-
al gate. The place of his ſepulchre was already fixed.
e citizens conſtantly beheld before their eyes that
y Mauſoleum which already entombed a part of
family. It ſtood in the Campus Martius. The trium-
l gate therefore could not be far diſtant from it.
Guided by ſuch preliminary notions, we may
ly follow the triumphal proceſſions, particularly
ſe of Paulus Emilius and Veſpaſian. The latter,
r ſpending the night in the temple of Iſis, met the
ate, which waited for him in the Octavian Portico.
eſe two circumſtances bring us to the Field of Mars,
even to the vicinity of the theatre of Marcellus.
the triumph of Paulus Emilius, the people raiſed
ſoldings in the two circuſes to ſee the proceſſion
. It proceeded therefore by the circus of Flami-
, as well as by that diſtinguiſhed by the epithet
Maximus. Horace, moreover, indulged the hope
ne day ſeeing the Britons, in chains deſcend the
Sacra. This word "deſcend" combined with
ſuppoſition that the triumphal gate was near to
Campus Martius, enables us to trace the whole

progreſs of the proceſſion. On this ſubject, I co
only follow and abridge Father Donati [71], a ſki
antiquary, who has treated this queſtion with
degree of taſte and erudition, which fully remov
all difficulties.

It may be ſuppoſed, therefore, with much p
bability, that the triumphal train having aſſembl
in an open ſpace, ſuch as the Equiria, or that prope
called the Campus Martius, immediately under
mauſoleum of Auguſtus, paſſed through the cir
of Flaminius, entered the city by the triumphal g
between the capitol and the Tiber, traverſed the pl
called the Velabrum, as well as the whole length
the Circus Maximus, and completed the circuit
the Palatine Mount by deſcending through the
Sacra into the Forum, in order again to mount
the capitol by the Clivus Capitolinus, which beg
at the arch of Septimius Severus. This hypothe
which is ſupported by the direct teſtimony of anci
authors, alſo correſponds with all the circumſtan
known reſpecting the triumph. Romulus (to reſu
our firſt conjecture) not being able to traverſe
new colony, which then occupied only the cra
top of Mount Palatine, naturally reſolved to m
a circuit round it, in order to diſplay before
citizens the monuments of his firſt victory. W
Rome afterwards extended over the ſeven hills,
proceſſion would naturally advance along the
conſiderable and beſt peopled parts of the city
numerous crowd of people, ſeated at their ea
the circuſes and porticoes of the Forum, behe
paſs under their eyes; and there were few o

habitants of the Palatine, or of one ſide of the
ſquiline and Aventine, who might not perceive it
a diſtance from the tops of their houſes and
mples. We ſtill find triumphal arches of ſeveral of
e emperors, Conſtantine, Titus, and Septimius;
of whom really triumphed. It is difficult to
termine how the ſenate proceeded in raiſing them.
am inclined to think, that after adorning the tri-
mphal road by temporary wooden arches, more
id ones were afterwards erected of ſtone or marble,
ſuch places as were leaſt crowded with thoſe
onuments. As to the arches of thoſe emperors who
ver actually triumphed, it ſhould ſeem that their
n will, the choice of the ſenate, or ſome parti-
ar circumſtance, determined the ſite of thoſe eter-
proofs of imperial vanity and Roman meanneſs.
On this ſubject I am not afraid to oppoſe the united
hority of Nardini, and Donati [72]. They differ
m each other with reſpect to the ſituation of the
mphal gate. Nardini places it between the
pitol and the Tiber; Donati, between the
irinal and the Capitol; and both of them remove
o a part of the city far diſtant from the Porta
minia; whereas its proximity to that gate ſeems
me eſſentially connected with every probable
potheſis on the ſubject. I might content myſelf
h allowing theſe antiquaries to diſpute with each
er; and liſten to Nardini, while he proves that
Porta Flaminia was the ſame with the Flumentana,
therefore near to the river; and to Donati, while
maintains that the triumphal gate ſtood between
Capitol and the Tiber; and from the particular

facts which they prove, might infer a general co
cluſion. But inſtead of diſplaying vain erudition,
chooſe rather to appeal to the following plain a
convincing reflections: 1. There muſt have been
eaſy acceſs to one of the roads moſt frequented, a
communicating with the principal ſtreets and bu
dings of the city. 2. The triumphal proceſſion m
alſo have entered Rome by one of the broadeſt roa
and through the midſt of the moſt diſtinguiſh
buildings. This ſuppoſition may be overturn
without effecting my inference. If the triumphal ro
was that followed by Romulus, the vanity of t
cenſors would ſpare no pains to adorn it in a man
ſuited to its high deſtination. 3. As the triumph
gate was open only to the conqueror and his tra
another was requiſite for admitting the vaſt crow
of people who flocked to Rome by the triump
road, which I conſider with Martial to have b
the ſame with the Flaminian [71]. Let us exami
according to theſe principles, the two moſt proba
ſites of the Triumphal and Flaminian gates. In
one, I find the moſt ancient edifices of the Cam
Martius, and the beginning of the ſuburbs, whi
as early as the ſixth century of Rome, exten
beyond the Carmentale gate; I find alſo the the
of Marcellus; ſeveral temples, particularly tha
Bellona, where the general convened the ſenat
ſolicit his triumph; the Octavian portico, and
Flaminian circus, in which laſt Lucullus diſtribu
a donative to his troops. In the other of thoſe fi
I ſcarcely diſcover any thing more ancient than
age of Trajan, when that prince dug through par

e Quirinal, extended the valley between that ountain and the capitol, and at the ſame time lorned it with a magnificent forum. It was extremely atural that a new road called the Broad-way ſhould on afterwards be made between the Flaminian road d the city. Why ſhould I here conceal a conjecture ſpecting the triumphal gate, which appears to me aracterized by ſeveral marks of probability? I ink that this gate was really no other than the mous Janus Geminus, called often the Temple of nus, the gates of which, as they were open or ut, were appointed by Numa to denote reſpectively e conditions of war and peace. The following are me of the circumſtances which perſuade me of the uth of a ſuppoſition that may at firſt ſight appear radoxical. Among the real or pretended obſcurities the accounts of the ancients on the ſubject of Janus, ſhall chooſe for my guide the learned Varro, who eſerved from the Roman contemporaries of Cicero e praiſe of introducing them to the knowledge of eir own city. That antiquary thus deſcribes Janus, ſpeaking of the gates of Rome, in the time of omulus: *Tertia Janualis dicta ab Jano, & ideo ibi oſitum Jani ſignum, & ejus inſtitutum a Numa ompilio, ut ſcribit in annalibus L. Piſo, ut ſit clauſa mper, niſi cum bellum ſit.* — It is known that the wall uilt by Romulus, though it was extended in all ther directions, remained always the ſame on the de of the Capitol and the Tiber: and the expreſſions Varro clearly refer to a gate which exiſted in his wn time, or at leaſt in that of Piſo. The ſame ſenſe ay be extracted from the moſt correct writers of

antiquity. I too well know the danger of exclusiv propositions to affirm, that the phrase "Temp "of Janus" is not to be found in any writer of pur Latinity; but I perceive that Livy, Horace, Suetoni and Pliny [74] always employ the proper expression o Janus Geminus, or Janus Quirini, or Quirinus. Virgi who describes ancient customs with the fire of a poet and the accuracy of an antiquary, makes mention o this institution among the ancient Latins; but neve introduces the word "temple" in speaking of th gates of war.

Sunt geminæ belli portæ, (sic nomine dicunt,)
Religione sacræ & sævi formidine Martis:
Centum ærei claudunt vectes, æternaque ferri
Robora: nec custos abstitit limine Janus [75].

In this description, every word indicates an arcade such as that of the gates of cities, shut on both side by doors of bronze, and consecrated by a statue o Janus, placed perhaps in a niche in the wall. Althoug modern writers have endeavoured to convert th Janus Geminus into a celebrated temple, their wan of accuracy needs not hinder me from giving to th words their primitive sense, which perfectly accord with the expressions of Varro. The triumphal gat and that of Janus belonged, therefore, to the sam wall. I may thence venture to conclude that thei identity is possible. 2. But to render the thing probable, we must endeavour to fix more accurately the situation of the Janus Geminus [76]. According t Livy, Numa Pompilius erected it at the lowe extremity of the Argiletum, to serve as the index o war and peace. We know that the Argiletum, though its etymology is uncertain, was situate near th

ot of the Tarpeian rock not far from the Tiber"; d Servius fixes its ſite ſtill more preciſely, by ſaying was in the vicinity of the Temple of Marcellus. he triumphal gate and that of Janus muſt alſo have ood within the limits of this ſmall portion of the all, extending from the Tarpeian rock to the river. Vithin the ſame limits, therefore, we are obliged place three gates, the Flumentana or Flaminia ear to the river, the Carmentalis at the foot of the ock, and the Triumphal in the middle between the wo others. In an extent of only a hundred thoms " of a wall crowded with towers, is it atural to ſuppoſe a fourth gate; or is it not more robable that this ſuppoſed fourth gate was merely a ifferent name for one of the others? The placing of anus in the Argiletum, which is done expreſsly by ivy and Servius, and which is quite conſiſtent ith the terms of Varro, is oppoſed by no other uthority than that of Procopius", who ſays, that he Temple of Janus ſtood oppoſite to the Capitol, nd in the middle of the Forum. But Procopius does ot ſay that this temple was the Janus Geminus; and hatever he might ſay. I ſhould be inclined rather o reject the authority of a ſoldier of the ſixth century, who ſpoke of a monument no longer in exiſtence, han to ſuppoſe with Nardini " that there were two anuſes, employed as tokens of war and peace; one f which was the ancient Porta Janualis, which Numa converted into a temple; and the other a emple which he afterwards built in the Argiletum. Theſe two Januſes are totally unknown to ancient uthors; and Varro directly ſays what Livy plainly

insinuates, that Numa instituted a new ceremo
without building a new edifice. 3. The gates of w
and triumph were therefore so near to each othe
that it is difficult to distinguish them; and a peculiari
which they possessed in common makes me incline
to consider them as the same. Both these gates we
consecrated by public opinion and the ceremonies o
religion. According to the institutions of th
Tuscans [51], walls were sacred, but gates we
profane; and when they traced the sacred site of th
Pomœrium, it was customary at times to interru
the action of the plough, that spaces might be le
free for these necessary outlets, which, for th
conveniency of the city, must often be defiled b
impurities. But the triumphal gate, which w
destined solely for admitting into the city a mo
venerable religious procession, needed not to b
included under this law; and that it certainly wa
not, appeared from what happened respecting th
honors which it was proposed to bestow on th
memory of Augustus [52]. Tiberius rejected these
however, as offensive to religion; to which th
proposition of making a dead body pass through th
triumphal gate was reckoned as contrary as that o
collecting the bones of Augustus by the hands o
priests, and of determining the age or century b
the length of his life. It belonged to the gods alon
to mark by prodigies the duration of each period
4. The supposed identity of the two gates, whos
resemblance is very striking, perfectly explains th
institution of Numa, and the reason why Janus wa
open in war and shut in peace. The contrary symbol
might appear more natural. A free and open acces

city beſpeaks the ſecurity of peace. Amidſt the fear nd diſtruſt occaſioned by war againſt neighbouring nemies, the ſhutting of the gates is employed as the oſt natural means of defence. But by the inſtitution f Numa, the gates of war were opened, becauſe ey were the gates of glory; and they continued pen, to admit the ſmall number of great men, who ere entitled to paſs through them. They were, on e other hand, ſhut when the return of peace ſhut p the triumphal road. Among the Romans, indeed, is road was rarely interrupted. For the ceremony f ſhutting Janus required not merely an actual peace, hich the Romans often enjoyed, but an inclination ſo in the ſenate to render that peace laſting; an clination which that body teſtified only during the anquil reigns of Numa and Auguſtus, and during at period of national weakneſs which was occaſion- d by the firſt Punic war.

On the TRIUMPHAL SHOWS and CEREMONIES.

IT is here neceſſary to pauſe. This chapter might ecome a volume. We may commit to antiquaries e care of deſcribing the triumphal ſhow; the victims, acrifices, vaſes of gold and ſilver, and crowns. I all dwell on one circumſtance alone, more de- rving the attention of a philoſopher, becauſe by it is inſtitution is honorably diſtinguiſhed from thoſe ain and fatiguing ſolemnities which create nothing ut wearineſs or contempt. The triumph converted e ſpectators into actors, by ſhowing to them bjects great, real, and which could not fail to move eir affections.

The moſt brilliant ſhows in courts, the carouſal of Lewis XIV. or the feſtivities of the Duke o Wurtemberg, atteſted the wealth, and ſometime the taſte, of princes. We may throw a glance o them, to remark the ſtate of arts and manners in certain age or country; but our eyes are ſoon tired o diſguſted by perceiving that theſe immenſe expenſe are conſumed in relieving the languor or gratifyin the vanity of one man. I perceive crowds of courtier indifferent, or yawning, or wretchedly occupied i concealing, under the maſk of pleaſure, their inwar uneaſineſs. I hear the loud complaints of a whol people; who have felt, in an expenſive hunting match, the deſolation of a province; and can trace in a gilded dome, the marks of a hundred cottages overwhelmed by the weight of taxes. From ſuc objects I remove my attention with horror. Th ceremonies of religion, when preſented to mankin in a venerable garb, ought powerfully to intere their affections; but their influence cannot be com pletely felt, unleſs the ſpectators have a firm faith the thelogical ſyſtem on which they are founde and unleſs they alſo feel in themſelves that particul diſpoſition of mind which lays it open to religio terrors. Such ceremonies, when they are not viewe with reſpect, are beheld with the contempt excit by the moſt ridiculous pantomime.

In the triumph, every circumſtance was great an intereſting. To receive its full impreſſion, it w enough to be a man and a Roman. With the eyes citizens, the ſpectators ſaw the image, or rather th reality of the public glory. The treaſures which we carried in proceſſion, the moſt precious monumen

art, the bloody ſpoils of the enemy, exhibited faithful picture of the war, and illuſtrated the portance of the conqueſt. A ſilent but forcible nguage inſtructed the Romans in the exploits and lor of their countrymen: ſymbols choſen with te ſhowed to them the cities, rivers, mountains, ſcenes of their national enterpriſe, and even the ds of their proſtrate enemies, ſubdued under the jeſty of Capitoline Jupiter. Under the impreſſion recent and manifeſt favors, pride, curioſity, and votion warmed into one ſtrong and prevailing ſſion of enthuſiaſm. Sometimes ſentiments more nder penetrated the citizen's heart, when he beheld on, a brother, or a friend, eſcaped from the ngers of war, following the triumphal chariot, d crowned with the rewards of his valor. The neral's glory was not confined within the narrow here of his own family and friends. It redounded the honor of every citizen, who rejoiced at the w dignity thereby acquired to the Roman name; d who remembered, perhaps, that his own vote d helped to raiſe to the conſulſhip the great man, hoſe merit he had the diſcernment to perceive, and hom he had the diſintereſtedneſs to prefer to all his als.

When the citizen caſt his eye on the vanquiſhed gs dragged in triumph, his own pride triumphed once over them and inſulted humanity. But if a timent of compaſſion overcame his ſtern prejudices, d he melted at the ſight of a fallen monarch, and innocent children ſtill unconſcious of their mis-tune, his tenderneſs muſt have been rewarded

with that delighful pleaſure with which nature repa
ſuch tears.

The lot of thoſe unfortunate princes is but t
well known. Victims of ſtate-policy and Rom
pride, they ended a ſhameful captivity by
ignominious death, which had been delayed o
by their diſgrace of being led in triumph. In t
conduct of the Romans toward them, there w
however a ſingular capriciouſneſs, which it is n
eaſy to explain. Of this, the following is a mem
able example. After the triumph of Paulus Emil
for the conqueſt of Macedon, the ſenate baniſh
Perſeus to Alba Facetia, in the territory of the Ma
ſupplied him with every comfort that can be enjoy
without liberty, and honored his remains with t
pomp of a public funeral. This treatment was tota
the reverſe of that experienced by the unhap
Jugurtha, who expired in a dungeon, after endur
the torments of hunger and deſpair; torments t
more horrible in his forlorn and ſolitary ſta
unrelieved by the hope of glory, the preſence
ſpectators, or the ſhow of a public execution, whi
while it frightens, fortifies the mind. What was t
reaſon for making this difference? Both princes w
ſworn enemies of the Roman name, and each w
ſtained with the blood of a brother who had bee
friend to the Romans. To theſe crimes Perſeus h
added the aſſaſſination of a king allied to the ſena
and an attempt to poiſon the Roman ambaſſadors.
Perſeus was a monument of the virtue of the repub
With him was aſſociated the idea of a glorious w
but, with Jugurtha, the Romans muſt have wiſhed
bury for ever the memory of their own diſgra

heir legions made to pass under the yoke; consuls, mbassadors, the whole senate, corrupted by the ribes of that prince; the concealed baseness of the epublic unveiled to the whole world. Such were the rimes of Jugurtha, crimes for which the Romans ould never possibly forgive him.

ROME, 13th December 1764.

N° VIII.

ROME, 29th December 1764.

I HAVE been reading a MS. of the Abbé *Geo. Vicenzo ravina*, which belongs to Mr. Lumsden, a Scotch entleman, and a friend of Mr. Byers, through hose means I procured it. The title of it is, *Del overno Civile di Roma; in 4to. pp.* 76: and its rincipal subject, the revolutions of the city after the ll of the empire; a subject which interests me much. his performance is an excellent abridgment, but erely an abridgment; the author not having sounded he depths of his subject, nor ransacked archives. is citations are few; and those only of well-known uthors, such as Baronius, Blondus, or Sigonius. may, however, be worth while to extract, ithout order or method, the particulars which I ave learned from this work.

After the foundation of Constantinople, New ome yielded in all matters of ceremony to her elder ster [p. 7.]. The consul preceded the consul of the ast. — *Procopius's Secret History.*

Mr. Gravina believes in the donations of Pepin nd Charlemagne [p. 8.]. But, according to him, hese princes gave the duchy of Rome and the xarchate of Ravenna to the popes, as chiefs of the

ſenate and Roman republic during the vacancy
the empire.

In the inſurrection of the Romans againſt K
Hugh and Marozia [p. 13, 14.], they eſtabliſh
their ancient government by two annual conſuls a
tribunes. Young Alberic was one of the firſt conſu
Gravina cities Blondus; but Muratori, who plac
this event in the year 932 inſtead of 928, does n
ſpeak of conſuls. I am inclined however to belie
Gravina. The conſuls were certainly re-eſtabliſh
about that time.

Mr. Gravina thinks that Otho III. aboliſhed t
conſulſhip in 995 [p. 21.], after the death
Creſcentius. The obſervation ſeems probable; y
he does not give his authority; and it is proved th
the office of conſul ſubſiſted immediately afterwar
as well as in the following age.

Innocent III. received the homage of the pref
of Rome p. 43, 44., and granted to him the inve
ture of his office. *Sigon. de Regn. Ital.* — At t
requeſt of the people, he created fifty ſenators
govern the city; but as they exceedingly abuſed the
power, he reduced them to one only, appointed
diſtribute juſtice. *Cantilius de Romana Hiſtoria
Carolo Magno.*

Under the pontificate of Martin IV. the Orſini,
avenge the affront which they had received from t
Annibaldeſi (who had driven them from Viter
after the death of their uncle Nicholas III.), enter
with an armed force into Rome, which they ravag
with fire and ſword. [p. 55, 56.] At that time w
burnt the ancient edifices whoſe ruins are ſtill viſi
on the declivity of the Capitoline hill.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

TUDY OF LITERATURE.

THE history of empires is that of the miſeries human-kind: the hiſtory of the ſciences is that their ſplendor and happineſs. If a thouſand her conſiderations render the ſtudy of the latter tereſting to the philoſopher, this reflection alone ſufficient to recommend it to every friend of ankind.

Idea of literary Hiſtory.

II. How ardently do I wiſh a truth ſo conſolatory mitted of no exception! But alas! the man too en intrudes on the retirement of the ſtudent: and nce even in his cloſet, that aſylum of contemp- ive wiſdom, he is ſtill miſled by his prejudices, itated by his paſſions, or debaſed by his follies.

The influence of faſhion is founded on the conſtancy of man; the cauſes of its deſpotiſm ing as frivolous as the effects of its tyranny are al. Men of letters are nevertheleſs afraid to caſt its yoke, and, though reflection cauſes ſome delay their ſubmiſſion, it ſerves to render it but the ore diſgraceful.

All ages and countries have given a preference, t ſeldom unjuſtly, to ſome particular ſcience, hile they permitted others to languiſh and ſink

into a contempt equally unreaſonable. Thus Log
and Metaphyſics under the ſucceſſors of Alexander
Polity and Elocution during the Roman republic
Hiſtory and Poetry in the Auguſtan age, Gramm
and Juriſprudence in that of the Lower Empire, t
Scholaſtic Philoſophy in the thirteenth century, a
the Belles Lettres, till within the times of o
fathers, have all in their turns ſhared the admirati
and contempt of mankind.

Natural Philoſophy and the Mathematics are no
in poſſeſſion of the throne: their ſiſter-ſciences f
proſtrate before them; are ignominiouſly chained
their car, or otherwiſe ſervilely employed to ado
their triumph. Perhaps their reign too is ſhort, a
their fall approaching.

It would be a taſk worthy a man of abilities,
trace that revolution in religion, government a
manners, that hath ſucceſſively bewildered, waſte
and corrupted mankind. It were prudent for hi
therein not to ſeek hypotheſes, but much more
not to avoid them.

Reſtoration of the Belles Lettres.

III. If the Greeks had never been reduced
ſlavery, the Romans had been ſtill barbaria
Conſtantinople falling before the ſword of Mahom
the Muſes were abandoned to fortune, till aſſembl
and patronized by the Medici. This illuſtrious fam
encouraged Literature. Eraſmus did ſtill more;
cultivated letters himſelf, while Homer and Cic
became familiar to climes unknown to Alexand
and Nations unconquered by Rome. In thoſe day
was thought a fine accompliſhment to ſtudy a
admire the Ancients'; in ours, it is judged m
eaſy

The public taſte for them.

ſy and polite to neglect and deſpiſe them. I am apt think there is ſome reaſon on both ſides. The dier then read them in his tent; the ſtateſman died them in his cloſet. Even the fair ſex, uſually ntent with the empire of the graces, and willing reſign ſuperior knowledge to ours, were ſubject the contagion; and every Delia wiſhed to find a bullus in the perſon of her lover. It was from rodotus that Elizabeth (a ſovereign whoſe name revered in the annals of Literature) learnt to intain the rights of humanity againſt another rxes. It was in Æſchylus [10] ſhe ſaw her magnaity celebrated under the names of the victorious oes of Salamis. [11] Chriſtina preferred knowledge to government of a kingdom; for which the tician may deſpiſe, and the philoſopher will bably blame her. The man of letters, however, not fail to cheriſh the memory of that Princeſs, o not only ſtudied the Ancients herſelf, but even arded their commentators. It was by her that maiſe was honored with marks of diſtinction; , though he did not deſerve the admiration in ch his contemporaries held him, was above that empt thrown upon him by his ſucceſſors.

That taſte carried too far.

7. This Princeſs, without doubt, carried her rd for ſuch writers too far. For my part, though etimes their advocate, never their partiſan, I freely confeſs I think them as coarſe in their ners, as they were minute and trifling in their ks. A pedantic erudition cramping the efforts of imagination, they were rather dull compilers ingenious Scholiaſts. The age was juſt enlight-

ened enough to perceive the utility of their refearche but neither fenſible, nor poliſhed ſufficiently to kno what advantages they might have reaped, by t light of Philoſophy.

When it became more rea-ſonable.

V. At length the day appeared. Deſcartes inde was not eminent in letters: polite literature howev is extremely obliged to him. An acute philoſopher who inherited his manner, inveſtigated the t elements of criticiſm. Boſſu, Boileau, Rapin a Brumoy informed the public alſo of the value thoſe treaſures it had in its poſſeſſion. One of th ſocieties, that have better immortalized the name Lewis XIV. than all the pernicious triumphs of ambition, had already begun its refearches; ſociet in which we ſee erudition, preciſion of ſentim and politeneſs united; in which we meet with many important diſcoveries, and ſometimes, w hardly yields to diſcoveries, a modeſt and lear ignorance.

If men employed their reaſon as much in th actions as in their converſation, the Belles-Let would not only engage the eſteem of the wiſe, become equally the object of vulgar admiration.

The decline of the Belles-Lettres.

VI. It is from this æra we may date the commen ment of their decline. Le Clerc, to whom b freedom and ſcience are indebted, complained above ſixty years ago. But it was in the fam diſpute, concerning the ancients and the moder that Letters received the mortal blow. Never was carried on ſo unequal a combat! The ſtrict lo of Teraſſon; the refined philoſophy of Fontene the elegant and happy manner of De la Motte;

brightly raillery of St. Hyacinthe; all joined in concert to reduce Homer to a level with Chapelain. The adverſaries of this formidable band anſwered them only by an attention to trifles; with I know not what pretenſions to natural ſuperiority in the ancients; with prejudice, abuſe and quotations. The laugh was entirely againſt them; while the ancients, who were the ſubject of the diſpute, came in for a ſhare of the ridicule that burſt on their defenders: that agreeable nation, which had unthinkingly adopted the principle of Lord Shafteſbury, not making any diſtinction between the Falſe and the Ridiculous.

Our Philoſophers have ever ſince affected to be aſtoniſhed, that men can paſs their whole lives, in acquiring the knowledge of mere words and facts, in burthening the memory without improving the underſtanding. At the ſame time, our men of wit are ſufficiently ſenſible of the advantages they derive from the ignorance of their readers, and therefore load the ancients with contempt, as well as thoſe who make them their ſtudy [14].

VII. To this picture let me ſubjoin a few reflections, which may fix a juſt eſtimation on the Belles Lettres. The examples of great men prove nothing. Caſſini, before he acquired a name for his aſtronomical diſcoveries, had buſied himſelf with judicial aſtrology. When ſuch examples, however, are numerous, they prejudice the mind in favor of an inquiry, the event of which they ſerve afterwards confirm. One muſt immediately conceive that a mind capable of thinking for itſelf, a lively and

Great men men of letters.

brilliant imagination, can never reliſh a ſcience th
depends ſolely on the memory. Yet of thoſe wh
ſuperior talents have ſucceſſively inſtructed mankin
many have applied themſelves entirely to the ſtudy
the Belles Lettres; ſtill more have encouraged a
in a leſs degree cultivated them; but not one, at le
hardly one, of them all, ever held them in contem
All antiquity was known to Grotius; a knowled
that enabled him to unfold the Sacred Oracles,
combat ignorance and ſuperſtition, to ſoften
calamities and mitigate the horrors of war.

If Deſcartes, devoted entirely to his Philoſoph
deſpiſed every kind of ſtudy that had not an imm
diate affinity with it: Newton [16] did not diſdain
form a ſyſtem of Chronology which has had both
advocates and admirers: Gaſſendi, the great
Philoſopher among the men of letters, and
greateſt man of letters among the Philoſophers,
only defended the doctrines of Epicurus, but criti
ly explained his writings: Leibnitz laid aſide
profound reſearches into hiſtory, to employ him
in the more abſtruſe reſearches of the Mathemat
Had his edition of the Capella appeared, his exam
alone in that valuable acquiſition to the literary wo
had juſtified the conduct of all thoſe who ap
themſelves to letters [17]. An eternal monument ex
however, of the united efforts of erudition
genius, in the Dictionary of Mr. Bayle.

Men of letters great men.

VIII. If we confine ourſelves to ſuch as h
devoted almoſt all their time and ſtudy to literatu
the reader of taſte will always know how
diſtinguiſh the ſubtle and extenſive wit of Eraſm

e accuracy of Caſaubon and Gerard Voſſius; the adineſs of Juſtus Lipſius; the taſte and delicacy of aneguy le Febvre; the reſources and fertility of ac Voſſius; the daring penetration of Bentley; e agreeable manner of Maſſieu and de Fraguier; e ſolid and ingenious criticiſm of Sallier; and the ofound philoſophical genius of Le Clerc and Freret. e will never confound theſe truly great men with ch mere compilers as Gruter, Saumaiſe, Maſſon, d many others, whoſe works, though not altogether eleſs, ſeldom gratify taſte, never excite admiration, d in general only lay claim to the loweſt kind of probation.

IX. The ancients have left models for ſuch writers dare to copy after them, and lectures to others, om which they may deduce the principles of true ſte, and learn to employ their leiſure in the ſtudy thoſe valuable productions, wherein truth appears belliſhed with all the graces of the imagination. TASTE. Three ſources of beauty.

It is the province of Poets and Orators to paint e beauties of nature. The whole univerſe ſupplies em with tints: of that infinite variety, however, hich on every ſide preſents itſelf, the images they ploy may be ranged in three claſſes; thoſe relating man, to nature, and to art. The images of the firſt ſs, or thoſe which compoſe the picture of man, s greatneſs, his meanneſs, his paſſions, his caprices; eſe are they which conduct the writer in the ſureſt th to immortality. Every time one reads Euri-des or Terence, one diſcovers new beauties. It is t, however, to the diſpoſition or conduct of their rformances, which are in this reſpect often defec-

tive; nor is it to their delicacy or ſimplicity of ſty that theſe Poets owe their reputation. No, the he beholds the picture of itſelf in their juſt and live deſcriptions, and confeſſes it with pleaſure.

Nature vaſt and extenſive as it is, hath furniſhe the poets with but few images. Confined by t nature of the object, or the prejudices of mankin to the exterior of things, they have ſucceeded o in painting the ſucceſſive variety of the ſeaſons; a agitated by ſtorms; the Zephyrs, wafting love a pleaſure on the breeze, and the like. A few write of genius were enow to exhauſt theſe images.

Artificial images.

X. Thoſe of arts remained. By the images of ar mean all thoſe things, by which men have emb liſhed, defaced, or diverſified nature, religio laws or cuſtom. The Poets have univerſally ma free with all theſe, and it muſt be owned they we in the right. Their fellow-countrymen underſto them with eaſe, and peruſed them with pleaſu They were pleaſed to ſee the genius of their gre men exerciſed on things which had made their anc tors reſpectable, on ſubjects they revered as ſacre or practiſed as uſeful.

The manners of the ancients favorable to poetry.

XI. The manners of the ancients were more fav able to Poetry than ours; which is a ſtrong preſum tion they ſurpaſſed us in that ſublime art.

In the military art.

In proportion as the arts grew more perfect, th grew leſs complex; in war, in politics, in religio the moſt important effects have proceeded from t moſt ſimple cauſes.

Doubtleſs a Marſhal Saxe and a Duke of Cumbe land [11] underſtood the art of war better than an Ach les or an Ajax;

Tels ne parurent point aux rives du Scamandre,
Sous ces murs tant vantés que Pyrrhus mit en cendre,
Ces antiques héros qui montés sur un Char
Combattoient en désordre & marchoient au hazard.

Are the battles, however, which are described by e French Poet, diversified like those of the Greek? re his heroes equally interesting? The single com-ats of the chiefs, the long conversations held with e dying, the unexpected rencounters we meet ith; all betray the imperfection of the military art; ut furnish the Poet with the means of making us quainted with his heroes, and interesting us in eir good or ill fortune. At present, armies are vast achines animated by the breath of their General. he muse denies her assistance in the description of eir evolutions: she is afraid to penetrate the clouds powder and smoke, that conceal from her sight ike the coward and the brave, the private centinel nd the commander in chief.

XII. The ancient republics of Greece were igno- In govern-nt of the first principles of good policy. The ment.
eople met in tumultuous assemblies rather to deter-ine than to deliberate. Their factions were impe-ous and lasting; their insurrections frequent and rrible; their most peaceful hours full of distrust, nvy and confusion [20]: The citizens were indeed nhappy; but their writers, whose imaginations ere warmed by such dreadful objects, described em naturally as they were felt. A peaceable admi-istration of the laws; those salutary institutions, hich projected in the cabinet of a Sovereign or his

council, diffuse happiness over a whole nation, exci
only the Poet's admiration, the coldest of all th
passions.

In religion. XIII. The ancient mythology, which attribute
life and intelligence to all nature, extended its i
fluence to the pen of the Poet. Inspired by the mus
he sung the attributes, the adventures and misfo
tunes of his fabulous deities. That Infinite Bein
which religion and philosophy have made known t
us, is above such description: the sublimest fligh
become puerile on such a subject. The almighty Fi
of Moses strikes us with admiration[21]; but reaso
cannot comprehend, nor imagination describe, t
operations of a deity, at whose command alone mi
lions of worlds are made to tremble: nor can we rea
with any satisfactory pleasure of the devil, in Milto
warring for two whole days in heaven against th
armies of the Omnipotent[22].

The ancients knew their advantages, and profite
by them accordingly. Of this the masterly perfo
mances we still admire are the best proofs.

The means of perceiving their beauties. XIV. But we, who are placed in another clim
and born in another age, are necessarily at a loss t
see those beauties, for want of being able to pla
ourselves in the same point of view with the Greek
and Romans. A circumstantial knowledge of the
situation and manners can only enable us to do thi
The superficial ideas, the poor information we gle
from a commentary, assist us only to seize the mo
palpable and apparent beauties: all the graces, a
the delicacies of their writings escape us; and we a
apt to abuse their contemporaries for want of tast

laviſhing ſuch encomiums on thoſe merits we are o ignorant to diſcover. An acquaintance with anti- uity is the only true comment on the writings of the ncients: but what is ſtill more neceſſary, is a certain rn of mind, which is generally the reſult of it; a ſen- iment not only making things known, but familiariz- g them to our ideas, and inducing us to regard them ith the eyes of the ancients. The famous example f Perrault may ſerve to illuſtrate my meaning. The deneſs of the horoic ages ſhocked the delicacy of the arisian." It was in vain that Boileau remonſtrated him, that Homer deſigned and ought to deſcribe reeks and not Frenchmen: his judgment was con- inced it was right, but he could not be perſuaded be pleaſed. A ſmall portion of antique taſte, if I ay ſo call it, would have done more than all the aſonings of his antagoniſt.

XV. I have ſaid that the Poets were in the right to ake uſe of artificial images; but I know not whether the tribunal of fame it will be allowed me. We e all fond of reputation; but nothing is more diffe- nt than the nature and degree of our paſſion for me. Every man has different notions in his deſire reputation. One writer, for inſtance, ſeeks only e praiſe of his contemporaries. Death puts an end his hopes and fears of cenſure or applauſe; he cares ot, if in the tomb that encloſes his body be buried lſo his name. Such a man may, without ſcruple, mploy familiar and temporary images, in writing or thoſe whom only he deſires to pleaſe. Another, n the contrary, bequeaths his name to lateſt poſte- ty; and pleaſe s himſelf in thinking that a thouſand

Artificial images depend on love of fame.

years after his death, the Indian on the banks of th Ganges, and the Laplander on his hills of ſnow, wi read his works, and envy the happy clime and æ that produced ſo extraordinary a genius.

Thoſe who are ambitious to pleaſe univerſally muſt deduce their images from the common reſource of mankind, from the human heart and the repreſen tations of nature. Pride only can induce writers t exceed theſe bounds. They may preſume, indeed that the occult beauties of their writings will alwa ſecure a family of Burmans, to labor in their expl cation, and to admire the text the more becauſe the themſelves have written the comment.

And on the nature of the ſubject.

XVI. It is not, however, the character of th author altogether, but that of his work, which i fluences him in this particular. The ſublimer ſpeci of Poetry, the epopeia, the tragedy, the ode, ſe dom employ the ſame images as comedy and ſatire becauſe the former are chiefly deſcriptive of the pa ſions, and the latter of manners. Horace and Plautu are almoſt unintelligible to thoſe who have not learn to live and think as the Romans. The rival of th latter, the elegant Terence, is better underſtood becauſe he has ſacrificed pleaſantry to taſte, where Plautus has even proſtituted decency to mirth Terence, one is apt to think, imagined he was de cribing the Athenians: his pieces are all over Greek excepting the language [25]. Plautus knew that h wrote for the entertainment of the Romans; an therefore with him we find, at Thebes, at Athens at Calydon, the manners, laws, and even th public buildings, of Rome [26].

XVII. In heroic poesy, although manners be not the principal objects of the piece, they are made use of as ornamental in the remote and distant shadowings of the picture. It is impossible to comprehend the design, the art, the circumstantial beauties of Virgil, without a perfect knowledge of the history, the government, and the religion of the Romans; of the geography of ancient Italy; the character of Augustus; and of that particular and singular relation he bore to the senate and the people[27]. Nothing could be more striking or interesting to this people, than the contrast between Rome, with its three thousand citizens living in hovels thatched with straw, and the same Rome the metropolis of the universe, whose houses were palaces, whose citizens Princes, and whose provinces were extensive empires. As Florus has remarked this contrast, it is not to be thought Virgil was regardless of it. He has struck it off in a most masterly manner. Evander conducts his guest through that village, where every thing, even its monarch, was all rusticity. He explains its antiquities; while the Poet gives artfully to understand for whom this village, this future capitol, concealed beneath tufts and briars, was reserved. How lively and striking a picture! How speaking, how expressive is this to a man versed in antiquity! How lifeless and unmeaning to those who are no otherwise prepared to read Virgil than by a natural taste for letters, and a knowlege of the language.

Contrast between the infancy and splendor of the Romans.

XVIII. The better one is acquainted with antiquity; the more one admires the art and address of the Poet. His subject, it must be confessed, was

The address of Virgil.

flat enough. The flight of a band of refugees; the squabbles with a few villagers, and the settling of paltry town; these were the boasted labors, the great exploits of the pious Æneas. But the poet has dignified them, and in so doing has had art enough to render them interesting. By an illusion, too refined not to have escaped the generality of readers, and too excellent to displease the critic, he hath embellished the rude manners of the heroic ages, but has done without disguising them". The herdsman Latinus and the quarrelsome Turnus, are indeed elevated into great monarchs. All Italy trembles for the cause of liberty: and Æneas triumphs over gods and men. Virgil knew how to reflect all the glory of the Romans on their Trojan ancestors. The founder of Rome eclipses that of Lavinium. It is a fire that kindles, and presently blazes over the face of the earth. Æneas, if I may so venture to express myself, contained the germ of all his descendants. When besieged in his camp, he naturally calls to mind Cæsar and an Alexis. We cannot divide our admiration between them.

But Virgil never displayed greater address than when, descended with his hero, to the shades, his imagination seemed at full liberty. Yet here he neither created new nor imaginary beings. Romulus and Brutus, Scipio and Cæsar appeared, such as they had been in life, the admiration or terror of Rome.

Of the Georgics.

XIX. One reads the Georgics with that lively taste the beautiful excites, and that exquisite pleasure the charms of the subject naturally inspire, in a sensible mind. It is easy to conceive, however, that

ur admiration would be increaſed, by diſcovering the Poet a deſign equally noble and elevated, as e execution of it is highly finiſhed. I conſtantly aw my examples from Virgil. His fine verſes, and e precepts of his friend Horace, fixed the ſtandard taſte among the Romans, and may ſerve to convey ſtruction to the moſt diſtant poſterity. But to xplain my ſentiments more clearly, it is neceſſary to ace things a little farther.

XX. The Romans firſt fought for glory and for eir country. After the ſiege of Veiæ they received me ſmall pay, and ſometimes were recompenſed ter a triumph: but they received theſe as gratui-s, and not as their due. At the end of every war, e ſoldiers, becoming citizens, retired to their ſpective huts, and hung up their uſeleſs arms, to reſumed at the firſt ſignal. The Roman veterans,

When Sylla reſtored the public tranquillity, cir-mſtances were much altered. Above three hundred ouſand men, accuſtomed to luxury and ſlaughter, ithout ſubſtance, without home, without principle, equired rewards. Had the dictator paid them in oney, according to the rate afterwards eſtabliſhed Auguſtus, it had coſt him upwards of thirty-two illions, of our money [36]; an immenſe ſum in the oſt proſperous times, but then abſolutely out of e power of the republic to diſcharge. Sylla, there-re, embraced an expedient, rather dictated by ne-ſſity, and his own private intereſt, than the good the commonwealth: he diſtributed the lands ong the veterans, and accordingly forty-ſeven gions were immediately diſperſed over Italy. Four-

and-twenty military colonies were thus ſettled ruinous expedient! It could not be otherwiſe; ſo if they were intermixed with the natives of the ſoi they changed their habitations to find out their o acquaintance; and if they ſettled in a body, the was an army ready diſciplined for any ſeditiou general who would lead them to the field. The warriors, however, ſoon grew tired of an inacti life, and thinking it beneath them to earn by t ſweat of their brows, what could only coſt them little blood, they ſoon diſſipated their new ſubſtan in debaucheries, and, ſeeing no proſpect of repairi their fortunes but by a civil war, they readily a powerfully entered into the deſigns of Catili Auguſtus, embarraſſed in like manner, followed t ſame plan, and was juſtly apprehenſive of the ſa fatal conſequences. Still ſmoked in Italy the aſhes thoſe fires its expiring liberty had kindled.

Des feux qu'a rallumé ſa liberté mourante.

The hardy veterans had not acquired poſſeſſio but by a bloody war; and the frequent acts of vi lence they committed plainly ſhowed they ſt thought themſelves at liberty to keep them, ſword hand.

The deſign of Virgil.

XXI. In ſuch circumſtances, what could be mo conformable to the mild adminiſtration of Auguſtu than to employ the harmonious lays of his friend, reconcile theſe turbulent ſpirits to their new ſitu tion? To this end, therefore, he adviſed him compoſe this work.

Da facilem curſum atque audacibus adhuc cæptis
Ignaroſque viæ, mecum miſeratus agreſtes
Ingredere; & votis jam nunc aſſueſce vocari.

Above fifty writers on agriculture had nevertheleſs ppeared among the Greeks. The tracts alſo of Cato nd Varro were more certain guides, as well as more rcumſtantial and exact in their precepts, than could e ſuppoſed thoſe of a Poet. But it wasmore neceſſary inſpire the ſoldiers with a taſte for a country-life an to inſtruct them in the rudiments of huſbandry- alculated to this end were his affecting deſcriptions f the innocent pleaſures of the peaceful ruſtic; of his orts, his domeſtic eaſe, his delightful retreats; ow different from the frivolous amuſements, or e ſtill more frivolous buſtle, of the buſy world!

We may yet diſcover, in the compoſition of this autiful piece, ſome of thoſe lively and unexpected okes, of thoſe artful and happy touches, which ince the talents of Virgil for ſatire; a ſpecies of iting which ſuperior views and a natural goodneſs heart prevented him from cultivating. Not one of oſe veterans could fail of ſeeing himſelf in the ture of the aged Corycian; who, inured to arms his youth, is happy at laſt in the enjoyment of a litary retreat, transformed, by his induſtry, from wilderneſs into a paradiſe of ſweets[42].

The poor Italian, weary of a life ſo full of anxie- s, laments with the Poet the unhappineſs of the mes is concerned for his Prince, borne down by e violence of the veterans.

Ut cum carceribus ſeſe effudere quadrigæ,
Addunt in ſpatium, & fruſtra retinacula tendens
Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas.

and returns to his labor, animated with the hopes of a ſecond age of gold.

Criticiſm. An idea of it.

XXII. Taken in this light, Virgil is no longer to be conſidered as a mere writer, deſcribing the buſineſs of a rural life; but as another Orpheus, who ſtrikes the lyre only to diſarm ſavages of their ferocity and unite them in the peaceful bonds of ſociety.

His Georgics actually produced this admirable effect. The veterans became inſenſibly reconciled to a quiet life, and paſſed without diſturbance the thirty years that ſlipt away before Auguſtus had eſtabliſhed, not without much difficulty, a military fund to pay them in money.

His ſucceſs.

XXIII. Ariſtotle, who introduced light amidſt the obſcurity that clouded the works both of nature and art, was the father of criticiſm. Time, who is juſtice, ſlow yet ſure, diſtinguiſhed at length truth from error, hath demoliſhed the ſtatues of the philoſopher, but hath confirmed the deciſions of the critic. Deſtitute of obſervations, he hath advanced chimeras inſtead of facts. Formed in the ſchool of Plato, and by the writings of Homer, Sophocles, Euripides and Thucydides, he hath drawn his rules from the nature of things, and a knowledge of the human heart illuſtrating them by examples from the greateſt models of antiquity.

It is now two thouſand years ſince the days of Ariſtotle. The critics have ſince improved the art;

; they are not, however, as yet agreed concerning
e object of their purſuit. Le Clerc. Couſin, Des-Mai-
aux, St. Marthe, have all defined it differently. For
y part, I think every one of them too partial or too
ſitive. Criticiſm is, in my opinion, the art of forming
udgment of writings and writers; of what they have
d; of what they have ſaid well, and what they have
d truly [12]. Under the firſt head are comprehended
mmar, a knowledge of languages, and manuſcripts;
apacity of diſtinguiſhing ſuppoſed from genuine
formances, and of reſtoring the true reading of cor-
ted paſſages. Under the ſecond, is included the
ole theory of elocution and poeſy. The third opens
immenſe field, the inquiry into the circumſtances
d truth of facts. Thus the whole generation of critics
y be diſtinguiſhed under three kinds, grammarians,
toricians and hiſtorians. The excluſive pretenſions
he firſt have not only been prejudicial to their
n endeavours, but to thoſe of their whole fraternity.

XXIV. All that relates to what men are, or have Materials of criticiſm.
n; all that creative genius hath invented; that
underſtanding hath conſidered; together with
which induſtry hath collected, are included in the
partment of criticiſm. A clear head, a fine taſte,
te penetration, are all neceſſary to form a good
ic. Follow the man of letters into his ſtudy, you
ſee him ſurrounded by the literary productions
ll ages; his library is ſtocked with them; and his
d informed without being overburdened by
r peruſal. He looks about him on all ſides; nor
he author, whoſe writings may have the moſt
nt relation to the ſubject of his thoughts, for-

gotten: he may happen to meet there with som accidental and ſtriking paſſage, to confirm the di coveries of the critic, or ſtagger his hypotheſes. An here ends the buſineſs of the ſcholar. The ſuperficia reader looks no farther, but admires the reading an memory of the commentator; who is not leſs the dup of the encomnium, and miſtakes the materials of bui ding for the edifice itſelf.

The task of a critic.

XXV. But the true critic is ſenſible his taſk is on begun. He deliberates, compares, heſitates, an decides. Impartial as exact he ſubmits only to reaſo or to authority", which is reaſon with regard to fac The moſt reſpectable names yield ſometimes to t teſtimony of writers, who owe all their weight to m mentary circumſtances. The true critic, ready and f tile in reſources, but void of falſe refinement, ſcrup not to ſacrifice the moſt brilliant, the moſt ſpecio hypotheſes to truth, nor preſumes to talk to l maſters in the language of mere conjecture. A pr feſſed advocate for the truth, he ſeeks that kind proof his ſubject admits of, and is ſatisfied. employs not the deſperate ſcythe of analyſis, in gat ring thoſe delicate flowers that ſhrink and fade at t leaſt ungentle touch. At the ſame time, as little co tent with inſipid admiration, he ſearches into the m ſecret emotions of the human heart, to diſcover t cauſes of his pleaſure or diſguſt. Diffident and f ſible, he deals not out conjectures as truths, r ſonings for facts, or probabilities for demonſtratio

Criticiſm good logic.

XXVI. Geometry has been called a good ſpec of logic, which has been thought alſo a great en mium on that ſcience: as it is certainly more no

display and improve the faculties of the human ind than to trace the limits of the material univerſe. ut has not criticiſm alſo the ſame pretenſions to gic? It has more: Geometry is employed only in monſtrations peculiar to itſelf: criticiſm delibe- tes between the different degrees of probability. It by comparing theſe we daily regulate our actions, d often determine our future deſtiny". Let us amine here ſome critical probabilities.

XXVII. The preſent age, which imagines itſelf ſtined to introduce change into every thing, has lopted a hiſtorical ſcepticiſm, as dangerous as it y be uſeful. M. de Pouilly, a ſprightly and ſuperfi- l genius, who generally quoted more than he read, s dubious concerning the certainty of the five firſt es of Rome"; but, little adapted for ſuch kind of earches he readily gave up the point to the erudition d criticiſm of M. Freret and the Abbé Sallier. M. de aufort revived this controverſy; and the Roman tory has ſuffered not a little from the attacks of a iter, who not only knew to doubt, but to determine. Controverſy on the Roman Hiſtory.

XXVIII. A treaty, concluded between the Romans d Carthaginians, became, in the hands of this thor, a moſt powerful objection. This treaty is found Polybius a hiſtorian as accurate as ſenſible. The ginal was in his time at Rome. And yet this authen- monument contradicted all the hiſtorians. It ap- red by this, that L. Brutus and M. Horatius were nſuls at that time; although Horatius was not inveſt- with the conſulſhip till after the death of Brutus. gain, a people are therein called Roman ſubjects, o were at that time only allies, and we hear of the Of a treaty between Rome and Carthage.

marine of a nation that began to construct ships on in the time of the first Punic war; two hundred an fifty years after the consulship of Brutus. What mor fying conclusions might not be drawn from these co tradictions! How greatly to the disadvantage of t historians!

This treaty cleared up.

XXIX. This objection of Mr. de Beaufort great embarrassed his adversaries. They suspected t authenticity of the pretended original. They eve altered its date. Let us see, if by a probable expl nation, we cannot reconcile this monument with t historians. To do this we shall begin by separatin the date from the body of the treaty. The form agrees with the time of Brutus: the latter resembl the manner of Polybius, or that of his Roman an quaries. But the names of their consuls were nev inserted in their solemn treaties, in the *fœdera* con crated by all the ceremonies of their religion. T ministers of that religion, the *feciales*, only sign them: and in this consisted the distinction betwe the *fœdera* and the *sponsiones*. The account of t circumstance, for which we are indebted to Liv obviates the difficulty. The antiquaries mistook t *feciales* for the consuls; and, without thinking of t mistake, as nothing obliged them to be precise in th explanation of their public monuments, they disti guished the year, of the expulsion of their kings, by t celebrated names of the author of their liberty, and t founder of the capitol. It little concerned the whether they were consuls at the same time, or n

Of the Roman subjects.

XXX. The people of Ardea, Antium and Ter cina, were not then subjects of Rome; at least, they were, historians have given us very falsei

the extent of that republic. Let us imagine ourſelves ſiſting in the time of Brutus; and we ſhall deduce, om the politics of the Romans, a definition of the rm Ally, very different from what we ſhould lay own at preſent. Rome, although the laſt colony of e Latins, begun very early to form the project of bjecting the whole nation to its laws. Its diſcipline d police, its heroes, its victories, ſoon manifeſted its conteſtible ſuperiority. The Romans, not leſs politic an bold, made uſe of this ſuperiority with a diſcretion orthy of their good fortune. They knew well that ies hardly ſubjected would ſtop the progreſs of eir arms, would waſte the treaſures, and corrupt e manners of the republic. Under the more ſpe-ous name, therefore, of allies, they reconciled the nquiſhed to the yoke of ſubmiſſion; while the ter conſented with pleaſure to acknowledge ome as the capital of the Latin nation, and to fur-h it with a quota of troops in its wars. The republic, return, afforded them only bare protection, the rk of that ſovereignty which coſt its vaſſals ſo ar. Theſe people were indeed denominated al-s to Rome; but they ſoon found themſelves no ter than her ſlaves.

XXXI. This explication, it may be ſaid. dimi-nes the difficulty, but does not remove it. Υπηκοοι, word Polybius in this place makes uſe of, taken its proper ſenſe, ſignifies a ſubject. I will not pute it. But it muſt be obſerved, we have only a nſlation of this treaty; and though we ſhould con-ionally admit the copies to be depended on, as he main ſubſtance and tenor of it, their expreſ-

ſions ought not to be ſtrictly taken according to t
letter. The aſſociation of our ideas is ſo extreme
arbitrary, their various ſhades ſo indiſtinct, and l
guages ſo different and changeable, that the m
able tranſlator may long look for equivalent expr
ſions, and find at laſt none but what are bar
ſimilar. The language of this treaty was antiq
Polybius truſted to the Roman antiquaries; wh
vanity was apt to magnify their ſubject. *Fœderati*, ſ
they, does not directly ſignify allies, as of people up
an equal footing, let us render it therefore by
word ſubjects.

Their marine. XXXII. Again, the Roman marine is an object
no little embarraſſment to the critics. Polybius hi
ſelf however aſſures us, that the fleet of Duill
was their firſt eſſay of this kind. Polybius there
muſt be in one caſe or the other miſtaken, ſince
contradicts himſelf; which is all the concluſion I ſh
draw from the matter. But even admitting the tr
of his relation, the Roman hiſtory does not there
fall to the ground. The following hypotheſis affo
a probable ſolution of this paradox; and that is
much as can be reaſonably expected of an hypothe
Tarquin oppreſſed both his ſubjects and the army.
ſeized, and appropriated to himſelf, their plund
which gave them a diſguſt to military expeditio
They fitted out, therefore, ſmall ſloops, and w
to cruize at ſea. The infant republic protected th
but, by this treaty, laid a reſtraint on their depre
tions. The continual wars, in which it was af
wards engaged, and wherein the land-forces w
well paid, made this marine neglected; and, in

ge or two; it was even forgotten that it had ever kisted". Polybius may have only spoken in too distinct and general terms.

XXXIII. It may be further remarked, that this rst marine of the Romans could be composed only f vessels of no more than fifty oars. Galen and liero constructed much larger ships. The Greeks nd Carthaginians followed the example; and in the rst Punic war the Romans fitted out vessels of three r four tier of oars, a circumstance that astonishes the ntiquaries and mechanics to this day. So different n armament was sufficient to make them forget their ormer rude essays".

XXXIV. I have with pleasure undertaken the efence of an useful and interesting history. My rincipal view, however, is to show by these reflec- ons, the nicety of critical discussions, in which, e business is not to produce demonstration, but to ake a comparison between opposite probabilities; s also to show how little confidence ought to be laced in the most specious and dazzling systems, since here are so few that can bear a free and attentive xamination. Reflections on this dispute.

XXXV. A further consideration involves criticism n a new difficulty. There are some sciences which re purely theoretical: their principles consisting only f speculative truths, and not of practical maxims. is more easy barely to comprehend a proposition, han to render it familiar to one's thoughts, to apply with propriety, to make use of it as a guide to ur studies, or as a light to show us the way to new iscoveries. Criticism, though practical, not to be acquired by rote.

The art of criticiſm is not to be acquired by rote or practice. Its elements are juſt, but of themſelves dry and fruitleſs. The writer who knows theſe only is equally miſtaken, whether he determines to follow or ventures to forſake them. A great genius, fertile of invention, maſter of critical rules, and at the ſame time, of the reaſons on which thoſe rules are founded, will often appear to hold them very cheap. New and enterpriſing in his attempts, he will ſeem to have thrown off their reſtraint: but follow him to the end, and you will always find him an admirer, though not an implicit one, of thoſe rules; and that he always makes them the baſis of his inveſtigations and diſcoveries. Would the ſciences were all *legum non hominum reſpublica*, ſuch would be the wiſh of a learned and wiſe nation. The accompliſhment of that wiſh would alſo conſtitute its felicity: but it is too well known that the happineſs of a people, and the glory of thoſe who inſtruct, or govern them, are different and ſometimes contrary, objects. Our literary champions apply themſelves only to ſtudies reſembling the ſpear of Achilles, adapted to the arm and ſtrength of heroes. Shall we try a little how we can manage it?

XXXVI. A legiſlator in criticiſm has pronounced that the Poet ſhould ever repreſent his heroes ſuch as we find them in hiſtory.

Aut famam ſequere aut ſibi convenientia finge
Scriptor; Homereum ſi forte reponis Achillem.
Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
Jura negei ſibi nata, nihil non arrogat armis, &c.

Shall we then reduce the Poet to the ſituation of a rigid annaliſt? Shall we deprive him of that grand reſource, invention, of the power of contraſting his characters, and of placing them in thoſe critical and unexpected ſituations, in which we admire the hero, or tremble for the man? Or ſhall we not rather, attached to beauties more than rules, be more ready to pardon a writer's anachroniſms than his dulneſs.

XXXVII. To charm, to move, to elevate the ſoul, are the great objects of Poetry. Its particular laws, therefore, ſhould never make us forget they were framed to aid, and not embarraſs, the efforts of genius. We have ſeen Philoſophy ſo environed with demonſtrations, as hardly to admit the moſt obvious of received opinions: theſe, however, are the peculiar province of Poetry. We are pleaſed at taking a review of the heroes and events of antiquity: when they are traveſtied in the repreſentation, we are ſtruck with ſurpriſe; but it is a ſurpriſe that revolts againſt the innovation. If a writer has a mind to riſque any thing new, he ſhould reflect whether the beauties of the alteration, or novelty, be ſtriking or trivial; whether they will compenſate for that violation of the rules, which they only can juſtify. The anachroniſms of Ovid greatly diſpleaſe us "; as truth is violated without embelliſhment. How different is that of Virgil, reſpecting Mezentius, who dies by the hand of Aſcanius. But what reader can be ſo cold and inſenſible, as to attend a moment to this circumſtance, when he ſees Æneas, the miniſter of divine vengeance, become the protector of oppreſſed nations, dart the thunder of his rage on

the head of the guilty tyrant, but melt with pity over the unfortunate victim of his reſentment, the youthful and pious Lauſus, worthy another father and a better fate? Had the Poet been confined to hiſtorical truth, how many beauties had he not loſt! Encouraged by this ſucceſs, however, he wanders from it when he ſhould have purſued it. Æneas arrives at the long-wiſhed-for ſhores of Italy; the Latins run together to defend their habitations, and every thing denounces a dreadful and bloody combat.

Déjà de traits en l'air s'élevoit un nuage;
Déjà couloit le ſang, prémices du carnage.

At hearing the name of Æneas, however, his enemies threw down their arms. They were afraid to encounter a warrior, whoſe glory took its riſe from the aſhes of his country. They ran, with open arms, to embrace a Prince, whoſe coming the oracles had foretold; who brought with him from Aſia, his gods, a race of heroes, and a promiſe of univerſal empire. Latinus offered him an aſylum, and his daughter. What a ſubject this for the drama! How worthy the majeſty of the Epopeia and the pen of Virgil! Let any one, who will venture, compare this with the embaſſy of Ilioneus, the deſcription of the palace of Latinus, and the diſcourſe of that Monarch.

Explanations and reſtrictions.

XXXVIII. The poet, I ſay again, may ſafely venture to depart from truth, provided the reader finds in his fiction, the ſame pleaſure which truth and conſiſtency would give him. Not that it

permitted to ſubvert the annals of an age for the ſake of introducing an antitheſis. Nor will this rule, I am perſuaded, be thought ſevere upon the rights of invention, if we reflect that all mankind are poſſeſſed of ſome degree of ſenſibility; but that knowledge is the portion only of a few. It is to be obſerved alſo, that beauty of ſentiment operates more powerfully on the ſoul, than that of truth on the underſtanding. The writer, however, ſhould always remember, that there are ſome liberties which muſt not be taken. Not even the ſublime imagination of a Milton, joined to the harmonious verſification of a Voltaire, could ever reconcile the reader to a cowardly Cæſar, a virtuous Catiline, or Henry the IVth ſubduing the Romans. In forming a juſt aſſociation of ideas, the characters of great men ſhould doubtleſs be held ſacred; but Poets, in writing their hiſtory, may be indulged in giving it us, rather as it ought to have been, than as it actually was. Pure invention is leſs diſguſting than eſſential alterations, becauſe the latter ſeems to infer error, and the former only ſimple ignorance. It is, beſides, much eaſier to reconcile times than places.

Great indulgence ought certainly to be given to the ancients, whoſe chronology depended, in a great meaſure, on the Poets, who modelled it almoſt as they pleaſed. Whoever condemns the epiſode of Dido, muſt have more philoſophy or leſs taſte than I have".

XXXIX. The farther we advance in the ſciences, the more we are convinced of their intimate connection. Their proſpect reſembles that of a thick and

extenſive foreſt. At firſt view, the trees, of which it is compoſed, appear ſeparate and diſtinct; but pierce the ſurface of the ſoil, and their roots are all intermixed and connected.

There is no ſtudy, even the moſt contemptible and leaſt cultivated, that doth not ſometimes fall upon facts, ſtrike out lights, or raiſe objections cloſely connected with the moſt ſublime and diſtant branches of ſcience. It is pleaſing to dwell on this conſideration. Different people and profeſſions ought to be made acquainted with their reciprocal wants. Diſplay to an Engliſhman the advantages of a Frenchman; repreſent to a naturaliſt the benefits of literature, by theſe means philoſophy extends itſelf, humanity is a gainer; men heretofore rivals become brothers.

The connection between phyſics and literature.

XL. In all the ſciences we depend on reaſonings and facts. Without the latter, the objects of our ſtudy would be chimerical; and, without the former, our moſt ſcientific acquirements would be implicit and irrational. Thus it is, the Belles-Lettres are miſcellaneous: and thus every branch of natural philoſophy, the ſtudy of which, under an apparent meanneſs, often hides its real importance, is equally ſo. If Phyſics hath its buffoons, it hath alſo (to ſpeak the language of the times) its *erudits*, its pedants. The knowledge of antiquity preſents both to the one and the other, a plentiful harveſt of facts, proper to diſplay the ſecrets of nature, or at leaſt to prevent thoſe, who make them their ſtudy, from embracing a cloud inſtead of a Goddeſs. What information may not a phyſician draw from the deſcription of the

lague that depopulated Athens? I can admire with im the majesty and force of Thucydides, the art nd energy of Lucretius; but he goes farther, and earns from the miseries of the Athenians to alleviate hose of his countrymen.

I know the ancients applied themselves but little o the study of nature; that destitute of instruments, nd single in their experiments, they were able to ollect only a small number of observations, mixed ith uncertainty, diminished by the injuries of time, nd scattered up and down at random, through a umber of volumes [76]: But should their scarcity in- uce us to neglect them? The activity of the human ind is usually increased by difficulties; and strange ould it be if relaxation and negligence should be the ffspring of necessity.

XLI. The most zealous advocates for the moderns, think, don't deny the superior advantages which e ancients in some respects possessed. I shudder at e recollection of the bloody spectacles of the omans; those savage combats of wild beasts, which icero so much despised and detested [77]. Solitude nd silence were by him preferred to these master- eces of magnificence, horror, and wretchedness of ste. In fact, to take delight in blood-shed is only orthy a herd of savages.

The advantages of the ancients.

The representations on their amphitheatre.

The construction of palaces, in which to exhibit e combats of wild beasts, could be thought of only mong a people, who preferred the decorations nd machinery of a theatre, to the finest verses and e most exquisite beauties of the drama. But such ere the Romans: their virtues, their vices, and

even their moſt ridiculous amuſements were co
nected with their ruling paſſion, the love of the
country.

Thoſe ſpectacles, nevertheleſs, ſo ſhocking in th
eye of the Philoſopher, ſo frivolous in that of a ma
of taſte, ought to be valued by the naturaliſt. Let u
imagine the whole world ranſacked to furniſh ſub
jects for theſe diverſions; the treaſures of the Rich
the influence of the Great, all employed to find
out creatures remarkable for their figure, ſtrength
or rarity; to bring them into the amphitheatre a
Rome, and there to make a diſplay of the whol
animal. This muſt certainly be an admirable ſchool
particularly for the ſtudy of that nobleſt branch o
natural hiſtory, which applies itſelf rather to th
nature and properties of animals, than to the minut
deſcription of their bones and muſcles. We muſt no
forget that Pliny frequented this ſchool, nor tha
ignorance hath two daughters, incredulity and im
plicit faith. Let us be equally cautious to defen
ourſelves againſt the one and the other.

The countries in which the ancient phyſicians ſtudied nature.

XLII. If we leave this theatre to enter on a mor
extenſive one, and inquire what countries were ope
to the reſearches of the ancient naturaliſts, we ſhal
find they had in this reſpect no reaſon to complain.

Navigation, indeed, hath ſince diſcovered to u
another hemiſphere; but the diſcoveries of the ſea
man, and the voyages of the merchant, do no
always improve the world ſo much as they enrich i
The limits of the known world are more confine
than the material one, while thoſe of the enlightene
world are ſtill more narrow and contracted. From th

mes of its Plinys and Ptolemys, Europe has been, at this day, the ſeat of the ſciences: but Greece, ſia, Syria, Ægypt, Africa, countries fruitful in e wonders of nature, then abounded with Philo-phers worthy to regard them. All that vaſt body f men were united by peace, by the laws, and by common language. The African and the Briton, e Spaniard and the Arabian, met together at the pital, and mutually inſtructed each other. Thirty erſons of the firſt rank in Rome, often men of ſcience emſelves, but always accompanied by ſuch as ere, ſet out every year from that metropolis, to vern the ſeveral provinces; and, if they had any riofity at all, authority was always at hand, to cilitate the operations of ſcience.

XLIII. It was, doubtleſs, from his father-in-law gricola, that Tacitus learnt that the ſea, over-owing the iſland of Britain, had rendered it a country bogs and marſhes. Herodian confirms the fact. nd yet at preſent, the land of this iſland, except ſome few places, is ſufficiently high and dry. lay not we place this circumſtance among thoſe, hich ſerve to confirm the ſyſtem of the diminution fluids? Or is it in the power of art to deliver the nd from its ſubjection to the ſea? The ſituation of e moraſs of Pomptina " and ſome others, gives us t indifferent ideas of that of the ancients in this rticular Be this as it will, content with having rniſhed the materials, I leave the uſe of them to e naturaliſts. It is not from the ancients that we rn to ſkim the ſuperficies of things, to examine thing to the bottom, and to ſpeak with moſt con-ence on thoſe ſubjects we underſtand the leaſt.

Of the inundation of Great-Britain by the ſea.

Of a genius for Philoſophy.

XLIV. "Next to the talent of diſcernment, th
"rareſt thing in the world, (ſays the judicio
"Bruyere) we may prize pearls and diamonds
I will not ſcruple to place the talent for philoſoph
Pretenſions to this talent.
zing above that of diſcernment. There is nothi
in the world more talked of, leſs known, or mo
rare. There is not a writer of them all who does no
aſpire to it, or would not readily give up his prete
ſions to ſcience, to make good his claim to this. Pre
him ever ſo little, and he will admit that a nic
judgment muſt embarraſs the operations of genius
but he will, notwithſtanding, conſtantly aſſure yo
that the philoſophical ſpirit, which breathes throug
out his writings, is characteriſtical of the preſent ag
The philoſophical turn and talents of a few gre
men, have, according to him, formed the geniu
of the age. This influence has extended itſelf ove
all the different ranks in the ſtate, and has trained u
ſcholars worthy of ſuch eminent maſters.

What it is not.

XLV. If we take a ſurvey, however, of the work
of our Philoſophers, their diverſity will leave us i
great doubt concerning the nature of this talent
and this may not unreaſonably lead us to doubt alſo
whether it has fallen to their lot. With ſome it conſi
in a humor for ſtriking out into ſome new path, an
for exploding every eſtabliſhed opinion, whethe
that of a Socrates, or a Spaniſh inquiſitor, for n
other reaſon than becauſe it is eſtabliſhed. With othe
again, it is the ſame thing as a talent for Geometry
that haughty and imperious ſcience, which, no
content with abſolute ſovereignty itſelf, hath pro
cribed its ſiſter-ſciences, and pronounces all reaſonin
unworthy

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

nworthy that name, whoſe object is not confined
o lines and figures. Let us do juſtice, however, to
hat enterpriſing ſpirit, whoſe errors have ſome-
mes led the way to truth, and whoſe very extrava-
ancies, like the rebellion of a people, have inſpired
ſalutary indignation againſt arbitrary power. Let
s acknowledge every thing we owe to the mathe-
atics: but let us at preſent attend to the genius of
hiloſophy, an object more judicious than the former,
d leſs confined than the latter.

What it is.

XLVI. Thoſe who are intimately acquainted with
e writings of Cicero, Tacitus, Bacon, Leibnitz,
yle, Fontenelle, and Monteſquieu, will be able
form a more juſt and adequate idea of this talent
an what I ſhall attempt to deſcribe.

A philoſophical genius conſiſts in the capacity of
curring to the moſt ſimple ideas; in diſcovering
d combining the firſt principles of things. The
ſſeſſor of this diſtinguiſhing faculty has a view as
rcing as extenſive. Situated on an eminence, he
es in a wide extenſive field, of which he forms a
ciſe and exact idea; while a genius of an inferior
t, though what he ſees he diſtinguiſhes with equal
ciſion, is more contracted in his views, and diſ-
vers only a part of the whole. A philoſopher may
a mathematician, a muſician, an antiquary; but
very thing he is ſtill the philoſopher; and, in
ſequence of his abilities, to comprehend the firſt
nciples of his art, he riſes ſuperior to every other
ſt. Placed among that ſmall number of geniuſes,
med for ſo arduous a taſk, he labors to compleat
elementary ſcience, to which, if once brought

to perfection, every other muſt ſubmit. Taken
this ſenſe, a philoſophical genius is very uncommo
There are many men capable of forming particul
Ideas with preciſion; but there are few who c
comprehend, in one abſtract idea, a numerous aſſ
ciation of others, leſs general.

The aſſiſtance it may gain from literature.

XLVII. Will it be aſked, What ſtudy can for
ſuch a genius? I know of none. It is the gift
heaven, which the greater part of mankind are ign
rant of, or deſpiſe; it is the wiſh of the wiſe; fo
have received, but not one has acquired, it: I co
ceive, however, that the Study of Literature, t
habit of becoming by turns, a Greek, a Roma
the diſciple of Zeno and of Epicurus, is extreme
proper to exerciſe its powers and diſplay its mer
It is remarkable, that, throughout that infinite div
ſity of geniuſes, there is a general conformity of ſe
timent between thoſe whom their age, country a
religion have led to take a view of the ſame objec
in nearly the ſame manner. We ſee that minds, t
moſt exempt from prejudice, cannot altogether ſh
it off. Their ideas have an air of paradox; and
perceive even by their broken chains, that they ha
worn them. It is among the Greeks that I look
the abettors of democracy; among the Romans, t
enthuſiaſts to the love of their country; among
ſubjects of Commodus, Severus and Caracalla,
the apologiſts for arbitrary power; and among
ancient followers of Epicurus, the enemies of
religion of their country **. What a retroſpect is
to a genius truly philoſophical, to ſee the moſt abſu
opinions received among the moſt enlighte

people; to see barbarians, on the other hand, arrive at the knowlege of the most sublime truths; to find true consequences falsely deduced from the most erroneous principles; admirable principles, bordering on the verge of truth, without ever conducting thither: languages formed on ideas, and yet those ideas corrected by such languages; the springs of morality uuiversally the same; the opinions of contentious metaphysics universally varied, and generally extravagant, accurate only while superficial; but subtile, obscure and uncertain whenever they were profound! A philosophical work written by an Iroquois, though full of absurdities, would be to us an inestimable performance. It would present us with a singular instance of the nature of the human mind, placed in circumstances we have never experienced, and influenced by customs and religious opinions totally different from ours. Sometimes it would surprise and instruct us, by the contrariety of ideas, that would thence necessarily arise; we should be led to inquire into the reasons, and trace the mind from error to error: Sometimes, again, we should see our own principles, but deduced by different means, and almost always peculiarly modified and altered. We should hence learn, not only to acknowledge, but to feel the force of prejudice; we should learn never to be surprised at apparent absurdity; and often to suspect the truth of what might appear to want no confirmation.

I must own, I like to see the reasonings of mankind take a tincture from their prejudices; to take a view of such as are afraid to deduce, even from principles

they acknowledge to be juſt, concluſions which the know to be logically exact. I like to detect thoſe who deteſt in a barbarian what they admire in a Greek and who would call the ſame hiſtory impious written by a heathen, and ſacred if penned by a Jew.

Without a philoſophical knowledge of antiquity we ſhould be induced to do too much honor to human-kind. The influence of cuſtom would be little known. We ſhould every moment be apt to confound the incredible and the abſurd. The Romans were an enlightened people; and yet theſe very Romans were not ſhocked at ſeeing united, in the perſon of Cæſar, a God, a prieſt, and an atheiſt". He ſaw temples erected, to his clemency, and received, with Romulus, the adoration of the people. In the ſacred feſtivals, his ſtatue was placed by the ſide of that Jupiter, whom the next inſtant he himſelf was going to invoke". After all which, tired with ſuch idle pomp, he uſed to ſend for Panſa and Trebatius, to laugh with him at the credulity of the vulgar, and at thoſe deities which were the effect and objects of their fear".

Hiſtory is the ſcience of cauſes and effects.

XLVIII. Hiſtory is, to a philoſophical genius, what play was to the Marquis Dangeau. He ſaw a ſyſtem, regularity and connexion, where others only perceived the wanton caprices of chance. The knowledge of hiſtory is to the philoſopher that of cauſes and effects. It deſerves, therefore, that I ſhould endeavour to lay down ſome rules, not to enable genius to proceed, but to prevent its wandering from the right path. Perhaps, if things had been

always duly considered, subtlety had not been so often mistaken for ingenuity, obscurity for profundity, or a turn for paradox been misconceived to be the index of a creative genius.

XLIX. Among a multitude of historical facts, there are some, and those by much the majority, which prove nothing more than that they are facts. There are others which may be useful in drawing a partial conclusion, whereby the philosopher may be enabled to judge of the motives of an action, or some peculiar features in a character: these relate only to single links of the chain. Those whose influence extends throughout the whole system, and which are so intimately connected as to have given motion to the springs of action, are very rare; and what is still more rarely to be met with is, a genius who knows how to distinguish them, amidst the vast chaos of events wherein they are jumbled, and deduce them, pure and unmixt, from the rest. Rules for the choice of facts.

It will appear unnecessary to observe to those, whose judgment is superior to their erudition, that causes ought always to be proportioned to their effects; that it is wrong to trace the character of an age, from the conduct of an individual; or to estimate from a single effort, often forced and destructive, the strength and riches of a state. It will be needless to put such in mind, that, it is only by collecting and comparing facts any judgment is to be deduced from them; that a signal action may sometimes dazzle like a flash of lightning, but that we shall be able to gather little from it, unless we compare it with others of the same kind. The Romans, in making

choice of Cato, ſhowed they liked better to be corrected than flattered; and this they did in the ſame age in which they condemned the like manly ſeverity in the perſon of Livius Salinator.

Trivial facts, of conſequence.

L. It is ſafer to yield to facts, that of themſelves unite to form a ſyſtem, than to ſuch as one may diſcover in conſequence of a pre-conceived hypotheſis. Slight circumſtances are alſo often more worthy notice than the moſt brilliant actions; it being exactly the ſame thing with an age, or a nation, as with the individual. Alexander diſplays his character more in the tent of Darius than in the field of battle. I diſcover as much the ferocity of the Roman people in their condemnation of an unhappy criminal, to be torn to pieces in the amphitheatre, as in their ſtrangling a captive King before the capitol. There is no preparatory diſguiſe to trivial actions. We undreſs only when we imagine we are not ſeen; but the curious will endeavour to penetrate the moſt ſecret retirement. Should I undertake to determine, whether virtue prevailed in the character of a certain age, or people, I ſhould examine into their actions rather than their diſcourſe. In order to condemn them as vicious, I ſhould attend rather to their words than their actions. Virtue is praiſed without being known; known without being felt; and felt without being practiſed; but the caſe is different with vice. We are led to vice by our paſſions, and defend it by ſubtlety of reaſoning. There are beſides bad men in all ages and countries: but, if the depravation be not too general, even theſe will ſhow ſome reſpect to the times. If the age itſelf is vicious, (and they are apt

The difference between virtue and vice.

nough to diſcern this) they hold it in contempt, how themſelves openly what they are, and laugh t penalties, which they flatter themſelves will fall but lightly. In this alſo they are never deceived. The man who, in the time of Cato, had deteſted vice, would have contented himſelf with the ſimple admiration of virtue in that of Tiberius.

LI. I have made choice of this age with deſign. Vice had then arrived at its higheſt pitch. This I learn from the court of Tiberius itſelf; but there is a ſmall circumſtance related by Suetonius and Tacitus, which gives me a ſtill greater aſſurance of it. It is this. The virtue of the Romans puniſhed the inconſtancy of their wives with death [a]. Their policy permitted the debaucheries of their courteſans [b]; and, in order even to regulate their irregularities, formed them into a licenſed body. Now it appears, that under Tiberius, a great number of women of diſtinction did not bluſh to make public application to the Ediles, to get themſelves enrolled among the number of privileged curteſans; and thus, though to their own infamy, broke through that barrier which the laws oppoſed to their proſtitution.

The age of Tiberius the moſt vicious of antiquity.

LII. To ſelect thoſe facts, which ought to form the principles of our reaſonings, is a taſk whoſe extreme difficulty is eaſy to be perceived. The negligence or bad taſte of a hiſtorian may probably have occaſioned us to loſe for ever a choice circumſtance, for the ſake of ſtunning our ears with the noiſe of a battle. If philoſophers are not always hiſtorians, it were at leaſt to be wiſhed that all hiſtorians were philoſophers.

A parallel between Tacitus and Livy.

Tacitus is the only writer I know that comes up to my idea of such a philosophical historian. Even the interesting Livy himself cannot, in this sense, be compared to him. Both indeed have soared far above those ignorant compilers, who see nothing in facts but the circumstances of which they are composed: but the one has written history as a rhetorician, and the other as a philosopher. Not that either Tacitus was ignorant of the language of the passions, or Livy of that of reason; but the latter, more earnest to please than instruct, conducts us step by step in the retinue of his heroes, and makes us alternately experience the effects of horror, pity, and admiration. Tacitus employs the force of rhetoric only to display the connexion between the links that form the chain of historical events, and to instruct the reader by sensible and profound reflections. It is true, I climb the Alps with Hannibal; but I deliberate in the council of Tiberius. Livy describes to me the abuse of power; a severity that nature shudders at while it approves; the spirit of resentment and patriotism, which constitute that of liberty, and the tyranny which fell before their united efforts: but the laws of the decemvirs, their character, their failings, their conformity to the genius of the Roman people, to their own party, to their ambitious designs; all these he has entirely forgotten. I do not find it accounted for in him, why the laws, made for the use of a small, poor, and half-civilized republic, should overturn it when the force of their institution had carried it to the highest pitch of greatness. This I should have found in Tacitus; I think so, not only

rom the known bent of his genius, but from that triking and diverſified picture he has given of the aws, thoſe children of corruption, of liberty, of quity, and of faction.

LIII. An eminent writer, who, like Fontenelle, as united erudition and taſte, gives us a piece of dvice, which I would by no means have followed. t the cloſe of every century he would have the facts ollected, a choice made of a few, and the reſt com- itted to the flames. I enter my proteſt, however, ithout fear of incurring the contemptible name of mere ſcholar, againſt the ſentence of this enlightened, ut ſevere judge. No, let us carefully preſerve every iſtorical fact. A Monteſquieu may diſcover, in the oſt trivial, connexions unknown to the vulgar. et us in this imitate the botaniſts. Every plant is ot uſeful in medicine; they proceed, nevertheleſs, their ſearch after new ones, in hopes that ſome appy genius or experiment may diſcover properties them hitherto concealed.

Remarks on an obſervation of Mr. d'Alembert.

LIV. Uncertainty is a ſtate of conſtraint. A con- acted mind cannot fix itſelf in that exact equilibrium ffected by the ſchool of Pyrrho. A bright genius is ften dazzled by its own conjecture; and ſacrifices s liberty to hypotheſes. It is this diſpoſition that is roductive of ſyſtems. Deſign has been often ob- rved to govern the actions of a great man; a ruling rinciple has been perceived in his character; hence heoretical minds have conceived the notion, that ankind in general are as ſyſtematical in practice as ſpeculation. They have pretended to diſcover art our paſſions, policy in our foibles, diſſimulation

Mankind are either too ſyſtematical or too capricious.

in our caprices; in a word, by their endeavours to enhance the merit of the underſtanding, they have done little honor to the heart.

Juſtly diſguſted at ſuch exceſſive refinement, and diſpleaſed to ſee thoſe pretenſions extended to mankind in general which ſhould be confined to a Philip or a Cæſar, others of a more natural turn have run into the other extreme. Theſe have entirely baniſhed art from the moral world, in order to ſubſtitute accident in its room. According to them, weak mortals act altogether from caprice: the phrenzy of a madman raiſes up the pillars of an empire, and the weakneſs of a woman throws them down.

Of general and determinate cauſes.

LV. The ſtudy of general and determinate cauſes ſhould be agreeable to both parties; as in this the one would, with pleaſure, ſee the pride of man humbled; the motives of his actions unknown to himſelf; a puppet moved by foreign wires; and from particular liberty would ſee the origin of general neceſſity. The others alſo, would find in the ſtudy of general cauſes, that connexion they ſo much admire, and ample room for indulging thoſe ſpeculations for which their genius is turned.

What a wide field opens itſelf to my reflection! The theory of general cauſes would, in the hands of a Monteſquieu, become a philoſophical hiſtory of man. He would diſplay theſe cauſes operating in the riſe and fall of empires; ſucceſſively aſſuming the appearance of accident, of prudence, of courage and of cowardice; acting without the concurrence of particular cauſes, and ſometimes directly against them. Superior to a fondneſs for his own ſyſtem

hat meaneſt paſſion in a philoſopher, he would iſcover that, notwithſtanding the extenſive in-luence of thoſe cauſes, its effect muſt neceſſarily be onfined, and that it would principally diſplay itſelf n general events; in ſúch whoſe ſlow, but certain, peration works imperceptibly a change on the face f things, particularly on religion, on manners, and ndeed every thing that depends on opinion. Such ould in part be the leſſon ſuch a philoſopher would ive on the ſubject. As to myſelf, I only lay hold fit as an occaſion juſt to exerciſe my thoughts. To his end, I ſhall point out ſome intereſting facts, and ndeavour to account for them.

The ſyſtem of Paganiſm.

LVI. We are not ignorant of the pleaſant and abſurd yſtem of Paganiſm, according to which the univerſe peopled with whimſical beings, whoſe ſuperior ower only ſerves to make them more unjuſt and diculous than ourſelves. What could be the nature nd origin of theſe Deities? Were they Princes, ounders of ſocieties, or inventors of the arts? Did genuous gratitude, implicit admiration, or an in-reſted homage place thoſe great men in heaven hen dead, who, while they lived, were eſteemed s the benefactors of mankind on earth? Or may we ot diſcover in thoſe Divinities, ſo many different arts of the univerſe, to whom the ignorance of rimitive ages attributed life and ſentiment? This ueſtion is worth our attention; and, curious as it is, no leſs difficult to reſolve.

The difficulty of coming to the knowledge of a religion

LVI. We have no other method of coming at the nowledge of the heathen ſyſtem, than by means of eir Poets [102] and Prieſts, both greatly addicted to

fiction. The enemies of a religion never arrive at
juſt knowledge of it, becauſe they hate it; and ofte
hate it for that very reaſon, becauſe they are ignora
of it. They eagerly adopt the moſt atrocious calum
nies thrown out againſt it. They impute to thei
adverſaries even dogmas they deteſt, and draw con
ſequences which the accuſed never once thought o
On the other hand, the profeſſors of a religion, fu
of that implicit faith, which makes a crime of doub
often ſacrifice both their reaſon and virtue in it
defence. To invent prophecies and miracles, to pa
liate thoſe they cannot defend, to allegorize thoſ
they cannot palliate, and to deny ſtoutly thoſe the
cannot allegorize, are means which devotees hav
never bluſhed to employ. Call to mind the Chriſtian
and the Jews; and ſee what their enemies the magi
cians and idolaters have had to ſay againſt them
againſt thoſe whoſe worſhip was as pure, as thei
manners irreproachable. Never was there a tru
Muſſulman who heſitated about the unity of God
and yet how often have our good anceſtors accuſe
the Mahometans of worſhipping the ſtars? Nay
even in the centre of theſe religions, have ſtarted u
a hundred different ſectaries, who, accuſing eac
other of having corrupted the common articles o
their faith, have excited the mob to zeal and fury
and the diſcerning few to moderation. Theſe were
notwithſtanding, a civilized people, and had book
which, acknowledged to be written by the inſpiratio
of Divinity, ſettled the principles of their faith. Bu
how were theſe principles to be diſcovered, amid
a confuſed heap of fables, which a ſingle, contra

ictory and diverſified tradition had taught a few lans of ſavages in Greece.

LVII. Reaſon is here of little uſe. It is abſurd to onſecrate temples to thoſe whoſe tombs are before ur eyes. But what is too abſurd for mankind? Don't we know that there are very enlightened eople who appeal to the evidence of ſenſe as a proof f the truth of their religion, while at the ſame time ne of their principal dogmas is directly contradictory o that evidence? If the gods of Paganiſm, however, ad been men, the reciprocal homage their wor-ippers had paid them had been ſomething reaſon-ble; and a toleration ſomething reaſonable is not enerally the fault of the multitude. Reaſon of little uſe.

LVIII. Creſus ſent to conſult the oracle at Delphos, nd Alexander traverſed the burning ſands of Lybia, know of Jupiter Ammon if he was not his ſon. ut had this Grecian Jupiter, this King of Crete, come poſſeſſed of the thunder, would he not have t it looſe to cruſh that Ammon, that Lybian; that w Salmoneus, who endeavoured to wreſt it from m? If two rivals diſpute the empire of the world, it poſſible to acknowledge both at once? If indeed ey were no otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed than as the her, and the heavens, the ſame Divinity, the reek and the African might deſcribe it by theſe mbols, which their manners, and by thoſe terms hich their different languages, ſhould furniſh them th to expreſs its attributes. But we have nothing do with ſpeculative argumentation; we are to quire only of facts. Creſus ſent to conſult the oracle at Delphos.

LXIX. The Greeks, but wretched inhabitants of The religion of the Greeks was of Ægyptian origin.

the foreſt, proud as they were, were obliged
every thing to ſtrangers. The Phenicians taught the
the uſe of letters; for their arts, for their laws,
every thing that raiſes man above the brute, the
were indebted to the Ægyptians. The latter broug
over their religion, and the Greeks, in adopting
paid that tribute which ignorance owes to wiſdo
Their ancient prejudices made only a formal re
tance, and gave up the point without difficult
after hearing the ſenſe of the oracle of Dodona, w
determined in favor of the new religion. Such is t
relation of Herodotus, who was well acquaint
both with Greece and Ægypt, while the age
which he lived, being that interval between t
groſſneſs of ignorance and the refinements of phi
ſophy, renders his teſtimony deciſive.

The Ægyptian religion allegorical.

LX. I ſee already a great part of the Greek legen
fall to the ground; of their Apollo, born in the iſla
of Delos; and their Jupiter, buried in Crete. If th
deities were ever upon earth, Ægypt, and
Greece, was their habitation. But if the prieſts
Memphis underſtood their religion ſo well as
Abbé Bannier [111], not Ægypt itſelf gave birth to th
gods. The light of reaſon ſhone too clearly throu
the obſcurity of their metaphyſics, not to enab
them to perceive that human beings could ne
become gods, and that the gods never transform
themſelves into mere men. Myſterious in their ten
as in their worſhip, theſe interpreters of wiſdom a
the divinity diſguiſed by a pompous ſtyle, the truc
of nature, which an ignorant people had deſpiſe
if delivered to them in their genuine majeſtic ſim

ity. The Greeks were ignorant of this religion in many respects. They altered it by the introduction of foreign mixtures, but the ground-work remained till the same; and that, being Ægyptian, was consequently allegorical [113].

LXI. The worship of heroes, so well distinguished from that of the gods, in the primitive ages of Greece, proves that their gods were not heroes. The ancients believed, that these great men, admitted after their decease to the feasts of the gods, enjoyed their felicity without participating of their power. Hence they assembled about the tombs of their benefactors; celebrated their memory in songs of praise, and this excited a salutary emulation of their virtue; while they imagined the ghosts of the dead, conjured up from the shades, took pleasure in these offerings of their devotion. It is true, that this species of devotion became insensibly a religious worship; but it was not till long after, when the identity of these heroes became confused with that of the ancient deities, whose name they bore, or whose characters they resembled. They were considered as distinct in the days of Homer. Hercules is not one of his divinities. He acknowledges Æsculapius only as an eminent physician; and Castor and Pollux are with him two deceased warriors, buried at Sparta. Of the worship of heroes.

LXII. Superstition, however, had exceeded these bounds; the heroes were become gods, and the worship paid to them as deities had elevated them above the rank of men, when an interprising philosopher undertook to prove they had been mortals. Ephemerus, the Messenian, advanced this para- The system of Ephemerus.

doxical opinion [114]. But, instead of appealing to th
authentic monuments of Greece and Ægypt, whic
might have preserved the memory of those celebrate
men, he launched forth and lost himself in the ocea
An Utopia, held in derision by the ancients, th
rich, the fertile, superstitious isle of Panchia, know
to himself only, furnished him with a magnificen
temple consecrated to Jupiter, in which was a colum
of gold, whereon Mercury had engraven the exploi
and apotheosis of the heroes of his race [115]. These fabl
were too gross to pass on the Greeks themselves
bringing the author into general contempt, an
getting him stigmatized by the name of atheist.

LXIII. Encouraged, perhaps, by his example
the Cretans next boasted of their being in possessio
of the tomb of Jupiter, who, after having reigne
many years, died in their island. Callimachus appear
angry at this fiction, and his scholiast shows on wh
foundation it was raised. The following words, say
he, had been inscribed on a tomb. *The tomb of Min*
the son of Jupiter. But accident or design having erase
the words *Minos the son*, it stood thus *The tomb*
Jupiter [115]. The system of Ephemerus, however
notwithstanding the insufficiency of his proofs, b
degrees gained ground. Diodorus Siculus searche
the world over for traditions of different people t
support it. But the Stoics, in their whimsical mixtur
of pure Theism, Spinosism and popular idolatry
adapted this paganism, for which they were stickler
to the worship of nature, divided into as many deitie
as it had different faces. Cicero, whom every thin
served for an objection, hardly any thing for
proof,

roof, hardly durſt confront them with the ſyſtem f Ephemerus.

LXIV. It was not till the time of the Emperors, hat this ſyſtem grew into vogue. In an age, when ſervile world beſtowed the title of gods on monſters, nworthy the name of men, it was artfully paying heir court to confound the diſtinctions between upiter and Domitian. Benefactors to mankind (for o the voice of adulation called them) their right o divinity the ſame; their nature and their power ere equal. Pliny himſelf, either through policy r contempt, commits the ſame error. It was in ain Plutarch attempted to vindicate the religion of s anceſtors. Ephemerus carried all before him; d the fathers of the church, taking all advantages, tacked paganiſm on its weakeſt ſide. And who can ame them? Say, thoſe pretended divinities were t in fact originally deified mortals, they were now come ſo, at leaſt in the opinion of their worſhippers; d their opinions were all the fathers troubled themlves about.

Did not prevail till the time of the Emperors.

LXV. Let us go ſtill further, and endeavour to ace a connected ſeries, not of facts, but of notions; found the human heart, and to lay hold of that ain of errors, which, from a ſentiment ſo juſt, mple and univerſal as that *there is a power above us*, nducted by degrees to the conception of deities, hich a man would bluſh to reſemble.

A concatenation of errors.

Sentiment is only a conſcious appeal to ourſelves. r ideas relate to objects without us; and by their mber and diverſity, enfeeble the ſentiment. It is refore among uncultivated ſavages, whoſe ideas

The ſentiments of uncivilized men confuſed.

are confined to their wants, and whose wants are simply those of nature, that the force of sentiment should be more keen and lively, although at the same time confused and indistinct. Savage man must be every moment in agitations he can neither explain nor suppress. Ignorant and weak, he is afraid of every thing, because he can defend himself from nothing. He admires every thing because he knows nothing. The despicable opinion he justly entertains of himself (for vanity is the creature of society) makes him perceive the existence of some superior power. It is this power whose attributes he is ignorant of, that he invokes, and of a whom he asks assistance, without knowing what pretensions he may have to hope it will be granted. This sentiment indistinct as it was, naturally produced the gods deities of the primitive Greeks, and the divinities of most of the savage nations; none of whom, however knew how to ascertain their number, attributes, or worship.

Every thing he sees becomes an object of adoration.

LXVI. This sentiment, in time, is modified into a notion. Savage man pays homage to every thing about him; as every thing seems to him more excellent than himself. The majestic oak, that shelters him with its spreading boughs, had afforded a shade to his ancestors, down from the first of his race. It lifted its head into the clouds, while the towering eagle lost itself in its branches. What was the duration, the size, the strength, of an human creature, compared to such a tree? Gratitude never united itself to admiration. That oak, which afforded him plenty of acorns, the clear stream, at which

uenched his thirſt, were his benefactors: they made is life comfortable; without them he could not ubſiſt, while at the ſame time they ſtood in no need f him. In effect, without theſe lights, that enable s to ſee how much reaſon alone is ſuperior to all hoſe neceſſary parts of an intelligent ſyſtem, every ne of them is ſuperior to man. But wanting ſuch ghts; ſavage man attributes life and power to them l; and proſtrates himſelf before imaginary beings hich he hath thus created.

His ideas are ſingular.

LXVII. The ideas of uncivilized man are ſingular ecauſe they are ſimple. To remark the different ualities of objects, to obſerve thoſe which are ommon to many, and from that reſemblance to form n abſtract idea, repreſentative of the genus of bjects, without being the image of any one in rticular; this is the operation of the underſtanding, hich acts and reflects within itſelf; and which, verſtocked with ideas, thus endeavours to relieve ſelf by the forms of method. In a primitive ſtate, e ſoul, paſſive and ignorant of its faculties, is pable only of receiving external impreſſions: theſe preſſions repreſent only ſingle objects, and in ſuch manner as they ſeem to exiſt in themſelves. The vage therefore ſees himſelf ſurrounded with deities: very field, every foreſt ſwarms with them.

He combines his ideas and multiplies his deities.

LXVIII. Experience unfolds his ideas, for dividuals as well as ſocieties owe every thing to perience. A variety of objects becoming familiar his perceptions, he begins to diſcover their mmon nature, and this nature becomes a new vinity ſuperior to all particular deities. But every

thing that exiſts has its exiſtence determined by tim or place, which diſtinguiſh its identity. Now th human-mind would be differently influenced wit regard to theſe two modes of exiſtence; the one bein plain and obvious to the ſenſes, the other tranſient metaphyſial, and perhaps nothing more than th ſucceſſion of our ideas. A common property, varie only in the mode of time, would eclipſe all particul properties, whilſt thoſe which ſhould be diverſifie in the mode of place, might ſubſiſt as diſtinct par of a common property. The God of rivers lays a indiſputed claim to his local rights on the Tiber an Clitumnus; but the South-wind that blew yeſterda and that we feel to-day, are both the ſame bluſterin tyrant, that ſtirs up the mountainous waves of th Adriatic.

Combination of ideas continued.

LXIX. The more the mind exerciſes its thought the more it combines its ideas. Two ſpecies a different in ſome reſpects, and alike in others: the are deſtined to the ſame uſe, they are part of the ſam element. The ſtream of a fountain becomes a rive the river loſes itſelf in the ſea. This ſea makes part a vaſt ocean of waters, that encompaſs the whol earth: while the earth itſelf contains every thing th ſubſiſts by the principle of vegetation. In proportio as mankind become enlightened, their idolatry wou refine. They would become better able to perceiv how the univerſe is governed by general laws; an would approach nearer the unity of a ſole, efficie cauſe. The Greeks could never generalize their ide beyond the elements of water, earth and air; whic under the names of Jupiter, Neptune, and Plut

omprehended and governed all things. But the Egyptians, whose genius was better adapted to bstract speculations, arrived at length to their Osiris [111] or principal Divinity, an intelligent rinciple, which operated constantly on the material rinciple, couched under the name and personage of is, his wife and sister. Those who believe in the ternity of matter, can hardly go farther than this [111].

LXX. Jupiter, Neptune, and grisly Pluto were rothers; the branches of whose posterity spread hemselves infinitely wide, and comprehended the hole system of nature. Such was the mythology of he ancients. To the ignorant, the idea of generation as more natural than that of creation. It was more sy for them to acquire; and supposed less power xerted in the operation. This generation, however, d them to establish a hierarchy, which these beings, ough free, yet limited, could not possibly do ithout. Thus the three principal deities exercised a ternal authority over their children, dispersed in e air, over the earth and the sea. The primogeniture Jupiter gave him also a superiority over his others, which entitled him to the name of the ng of Gods and Father of Men. But this king, is supreme father, was too limited and impotent, all respects, to suffer us to do the Greeks the honor attributing to them the belief of a Supreme Being. The generation and hierarchy of Gods.

LXXI. This system, ill-constructed as it was, counted for all the physical effects of nature. But e moral world, man, his destiny, and actions were thout divinities. The earth, or the air, had been adapted deities. The want of new Gods, there- The Gods of human life.

fore, forged a new chain of errors, which, joined to the former, encircled the regions of theological romance. I ſuſpect the latter ſyſtem muſt take its riſe very late; man never thinking of entering into himſelf, till he had exhauſted external objects.

The ſyſtem of liberty and neceſſity.

LXXII. There are two hypotheſes which always have been, and ever will, ſubſiſt. In the one, man is ſuppoſed to have received from his Creator Reaſon and Will; that he is left to himſelf to put them to uſe, and regulate his actions accordingly. In the other, he is ſuppoſed incapable of acting otherwiſe than agreeable to the pre-eſtabliſhed laws of the Deity, of whom he is only the inſtrument: that his ſentiment deceives him, and when he imagines he follows his own inclination; he in fact only purſues that of his maſter. The latter notion might be ſuggeſted to the minds of a people, little removed from a primitive ſtate. Little inſtructed in the movements of ſo complicated a machine, they ſaw with admiration the great virtues, the atrocious crimes, the uſeful inventions of a few ſingular men, and thought they ſurpaſſed the powers of humanity. Hence they conceived, on every ſide, active deities inſpiring virtue and vice into weak mortals, incapable of reſiſting their impulſive influence. It was not prudence that inſpired Pandarus with the deſign of breaking the truce, and of aiming a dart at the breaſt of Menelaus. It was the Goodeſs Minerva excited him to that attempt. The unhappy Phedra was not criminal. No. It was Venus, who, irritated by the ſlights of Hyppolitus, lighted up an inceſtuous flame in the heart of that Princeſs, which

The ancients adopted the latter.

plunged her into guilt, infamy, and death. Thus a Deity was ſuppoſed to undertake the charge of every event in life, of every paſſion of the ſoul, and every order of ſociety.

LXXIII. Theſe deities of the moral world, however, theſe paſſions and faculties ſo generalized and perſonated, had only a metaphyſical exiſtence, too occult for the generality of mankind. It became neceſſary, therefore, to incorporate them with the phyſical deities; in doing which, allegory has imagined a thouſand fantaſtical relations; for the mind always requires at leaſt the appearance of truth. It was natural enough for the God of the ſea to be alſo that of the ſailors. The figurative expreſſion of the eye, that ſees every thing at one view; of thoſe rays, which dart through the immenſity of the air, might eaſily be applied to the ſun, and make an able prophet and a ſkilful archer, of that luminary. But wherefore muſt the planet Venus be the mother and goddeſs of love? Why muſt ſhe take her riſe out of the foam of the ocean? But we muſt leave theſe enigmas to ſuch as may be able to interpret them. No ſooner were theſe moral deities aſſigned their ſeveral departments, than, it is natural to conceive, they engroſſed the homage of mankind. They had to do immediately with the heart and the paſſions, whereas the phyſical divinities, to whom no moral attributes had been given, fell inſenſibly into contempt and oblivion. Thus, it is only in the earlieſt ages of antiquity that I deſcry the ſmoke on the altars of Saturn [137]. The union of the two ſpecies of divinities.

LXXIV. From this period the Gods became particularly intereſted in human affairs. Nothing paſſed Poſſeſſed of human paſſions.

of which they were not the authors. But were they the authors of injuſtice? We are ſtartled at this concluſion: a heathen, however, did not heſitate to admit, and in fact could not doubt it. His Gods often ſuggeſted very vicious deſigns. To ſuggeſt them, it was neceſſary they ſhould concur, and even take pleaſure in them. They had not the reſource of a ſmall quantity of evil admiſſible into the beſt of poſſible worlds. The evil, they were acceſſary to, was not only permitted, but authorized; beſides, theſe ſeveral divinities, confined to their reſpective departments, were quite indifferent as to the general good; with which they had nothing to do. Every one acted agreeable to his own character, and inſpired only the paſſions he was ſuppoſed to feel. The God of War was fierce, blood-thirſty and brutal; the Goddeſs of Wiſdom, prudent and reſerved; the Queen of Love, an amiable, voluptuous goddeſs, all charm and caprice: ſubtlety and low cunning diſtinguiſhed the God of Trade; and the cries of the unhappy were ſuppoſed to pleaſe the ear of the inexorable tyrant o'er the dead, the gloomy Monarch of the infernal ſhades.

These deities reſpecters of perſons.

LXXV. A God, the Father of mankind, is equally ſo to very individual of the ſpecies. He is incapable of love or hatred. But partial divinities muſt, doubtleſs, have their favorites. Could it be ſuppoſed they ſhould not prefer thoſe who moſt reſembled themſelves! Mars could nor but love the Thracians, of whom war was the only occupation; he could not but love thoſe Scythians, whoſe moſt delicious potation was compoſed of the blood of their enemies.

The manners of the inhabitants of Cyprus and Corinth, where all was luxury, effeminacy and pleasure; muſt neceſſarily engage the Goddeſs of Love. It was but a grateful return, to prefer thoſe people, whoſe manners were a kind of diſguiſed homage to their tutelar divinities. That homage itſelf was always adapted to their character. The human victims, that expired on the altar of Mars, thoſe thouſands of courteſans who devoted themſelves to the ſervices of the temple of Venus, thoſe famous women of Babylon, who there made a ſacrifice of their modeſty [144], could not but obtain, for their reſpective people, the moſt diſtinguiſhed favor of their protectors. But as the intereſts of nations are not leſs oppoſite than their manners, it became neceſſary that theſe Gods ſhould adopt the quarrels of their worſhippers. "What! ſhall I patiently behold a city, that "has erected a hundred temples to my divinity, fall "before the ſword of the conqueror? No. Rather "will I—." It is thus that, among the Greeks, a war kindled on earth, ſoon lighted up the torch of diſcord in the ſkies. The ſiege of Troy put all heaven into confuſion. The Scamander reflected the rays that darted from the Ægis of Minerva, was witneſs of the fatal effects of the arrows taken from the quiver of Apollo, and felt the tremendous trident of Neptune ſhake the foundations of the earth. Sometimes indeed the irreſiſtible decrees of Fate re-eſtabliſhed peace. But moſt generally the ſeveral deities mutually agreed to abandon each others enemies; for on Olympus, as upon earth, hatred is always more powerful than friendſhip. Their quarrels

They assumed the human form.

LXXVI. A refined homage was little suitable to such a kind of deities. The multitude required sensible objects; the image of something to decorate their temples, and fix their ideas. The choice, to be sure, must be fixed on the most amiable. But which is that? The human form will doubtless be preferred by men. Should a bull have answered the question, he would probably have determined in favor of some other. Sculpture now began to improve itself in the service of devotion, and the temples were filled with statues of old men and young, women and children, expressive of the different attributes ascribed to their deities.

Were liable to corporeal pains and pleasures.

LXXVII. Beauty is perhaps only founded on use; the human figure being beautiful only because it is so well adapted to the functions to which it is destined. The figure of the divinity, the same, should be certainly expressive of its properties, and even of its defects. Hence came that absurd generation of deities, who composed only a celestial family, similar to those among mankind: hence their feasts of nectar and ambrosia, and the nourishment they were supposed to receive from the sacrifices. Hence also their quiet slumbers, and their afflicting pains. The Gods thus become only a race of superior men, used often to make visits on earth, inhabit their temples, take pleasure in the amusements of mankind, join in the chase, mix in the dance, and sometimes grow susceptible of the charms of a mortal beauty, and give birth to a race of heroes.

Of general events.

LXXVIII. In those great events, wherein, from the diversity of actors, whose views, situation, and

character, are different, there ariſes an unity of action, or rather of effect; it is perhaps only into general cauſes we muſt look for the ſprings of thoſe.

A mixture of cauſes in particular events.

LXXIX. In more particular events, the proceſs of nature is very different from that of the philoſophers. In nature there are few effects ſo ſimple as to owe themſelves to one ſole cauſe; whereas our philoſophers are generally attached to one cauſe, ſole and univerſal. Let us avoid this precipice: on the contrary, if an action appears ever ſo little complicated, let us admit of general cauſes, not excluding either hazard or deſign. Sylla reſigned the ſovereignty of Rome. Cæſar loſt it with his life: nevertheleſs their encroachments on liberty were alike preceded by their conqueſts: before they became the moſt powerful, they became the moſt famous, among the Romans. Auguſtus trod nearly in the ſame ſteps. A ſanguinary tyrant[111], ſuſpected of cowardice, that greateſt of all crimes in the leader of a party, he reached the throne, and ſoon made thoſe republicans forget they had ever been free. Indeed the diſpoſition of thoſe people diminiſhes my ſurpriſe. Equally incapable of liberty under Sylla as under Auguſtus, they were ignorant of this truth in the time of the former: a civil war and two proſcriptions, more cruel and bloody than that war itſelf, had taught them, by the time of the latter, that the republic, ſinking beneath the weight of its greatneſs and corruption, could not ſubſiſt without a maſter. Beſides, Sylla, one of the firſt of the nobles, fought at the head of thoſe haughty Patricians, who, though they put a ſword into the hand of deſpotiſm to avenge themſelves of their

The elevation of Auguſtus.

enemies, would not leave it there with the power of converting it to the deſtruction of themſelves. They had conquered with him, not for him: the harangue of Lepidus, and the conduct of Pompey, make it ſufficiently clear, that Sylla choſe rather to deſcend from his invidious ſituation, than be thrown headlong from it. But Auguſtus, after the example of Cæſar, employed only thoſe enterpriſing adventurers, Agrippa, Mecenas, and Pollio, whoſe fortunes, attached to his, had been nothing divided among an ariſtocracy of nobles, but were when united ſufficient to cruſh a new pretender.

The cauſes of it.

LXXX. Thoſe fortunate circumſtances of the debauchery of Anthony, the weakneſs of Lepidus, and the credulity of Cicero, operated in concert with the general diſpoſition, in his favor: but it muſt be confeſſed, that though he did not give birth to theſe circumſtances, he employed them with great art and policy. The vaſt variety of objects, that preſent themſelves, will not permit to diſplay the nature of that refined government; to deſcribe the yoke that was borne without being felt, the Prince undiſtinguiſhed from the citizens, or the ſenate reſpected by its maſter[116]. We will ſelect, however, one circumſtance.

Auguſtus, maſter of the revenues of the empire, and the riches of the world, conſtantly diſtinguiſhed between his own particular patrimony and the treaſure of the public. By which means he diſplayed his moderation, in having bequeathed to his heirs effects of leſs value than the fortunes of many of his ſubjects[117]; and his love to his country, in having

given up to the ſervice of the ſtate two entire patrimonies; together with an immenſe ſum, ariſing from the legacies of his deceaſed friends.

LXXXI. An ordinary degree of penetration is ſufficient to diſcover when an action is at once both cauſe and effect. In the moral world there are many ſuch; or rather, there are but few, which do not, more or leſs, partake of both the one and the other. The corruption of all orders of men among the Romans, was owing to the extent of their empire, and was itſelf productive of the greatneſs of the republic [159]. The ſame action both cauſe and effect.

But it requires an uncommon ſhare of judgment, when two things are conſtantly united, and ſeem intimately connected, to diſcern that they are neither effect nor cauſe to one another.

LXXXII. The ſciences, it is ſaid, take their riſe from luxury; an enlightened muſt be always a vicious people. For my part, I cannot be of this opinion. The ſciences are not the daughters of luxury, but both the one and the other owe their birth to induſtry. The arts, in their rudeſt ſtate, ſatisfied the primitive wants of men. In their ſtate of perfection they ſuggeſt new ones, even from Vitellius's ſhield of Pallas [160], to the philoſophical entertainments of Cicero. But in proportion as luxury corrupts the manners, the ſciences ſoften them; like to thoſe prayers in Homer, which conſtantly purſue injuſtice, to appeaſe the fury of that cruel deity. The ſciences do not ariſe from luxury.

Thus have I thrown together a few reflections, which, appeared to me juſt and rational, on the utility of the Belles-Lettres. Happy ſhould I think Concluſion.

myſelf, if, by ſo doing, I ſhould inſpire a taſte for them in others. I ſhould entertain too good an opinion of myſelf, if I did not ſee the imperfections of this Eſſay; and ſhould have too bad a one if I did not hope, at an age leſs premature, and with a more extenſive knowledge, to be able to correct them. It may poſſibly be ſaid, theſe reflections are juſt, but hackneyed and trite, or that they are new, but paradoxical. Where is the author who loves the critics? The former imputation, however, will diſpleaſe me leaſt; the advantage of the art being more dear to me than the reputation of the artiſt.

Mr. GIBBON *to Mr.* LANGER.

ROLLE, 12th October 1790.

SIR,

I SHOULD have acknowledged ſooner your kindneſs in procuring for me the *Origines Guelficæ*, if I had not been told by our obliging bookſeller, Mr. Pott, that you were on a journey, while I myſelf was confined with the longeſt and moſt ſevere fit of the gout that I ever experienced. But we are now, both of us, reſtored to our ordinary ſtate, I can walk, and you no longer travel poſt. I ſuppoſe by this time you are thoroughly eſtabliſhed, and deeply immured in your immenſe library. Your curioſity, perhaps your friendſhip, will deſire to know what have been my amuſements, labors, and projects, during the two years that have elapſed ſince the laſt publication of my great work. To indiſcreet queſtions on this ſubject, with which I am often teaſed, I anſwer vaguely or peeviſhly; but from you I would keep nothing concealed; and to imitate the frankneſs in which you ſo much delight, will freely confeſs, that I more readily truſt you with my ſecret, becauſe I greatly need your aſſiſtance. After returning from England, the firſt months were ſpent in the enjoyment of my liberty and my library; and you will not be ſurpriſed that I ſhould have renewed my familiar acquaintance with the Greek authors, and vowed to conſecrate to them daily a portion of my leiſure. I paſs over in ſilence the ſad hours employed in the care of my friend, and in lamentation for his loſs. When the agitation of my mind abated, I endeavoured to find out for myſelf ſome occupation more intereſting and more invigorating than mere reading can afford. But the remembrance of a ſervitude of twenty years frightened me from again engaging in a long undertaking, which I might

probably never finish. It would be better, I thought, to select from the historical monuments of all ages, and all nations, such subjects as might be treated separately, both agreeably to their own nature, as well as to my taste. When these little works, which might be entitled Historical Excursions, amounted to a volume, I would offer it to the Public; and the present might be repeated, until either the Public or myself were tired; for as each volume would be complete in itself, no continuation would be requisite; and instead of being obliged to follow, like the stage-coach, the high road, I would expatiate at large in the field of history, stopping to admire every beautiful prospect that opened to my view. One inconvenience, indeed, attends this design. An important subject grows and expands with the labor bestowed on it. I might thus be carried beyond my prescribed bounds; but I should be carried gently without foresight and withouth constraint.

This suspicion was justified in my first excursion, the subject of which will explain the reason why I was so earnest to procure the *Origines Guelficæ*. In my History, I had given an account of two illustrious marriages; the first, of the son of Azo, Marquis of Este, with the daughter of Robert Guiscard; and the second, of a Princess of Brunswick with the Greek Emperor. The first view of the antiquity and grandeur of the House of Brunswick excited my curiosity, and made me think that the two nations whom I esteem the most, might be entertained by the history of a family, which sprung from the one and reigns over the other. But my researches showed me not only the beauty, but the extent and difficulty of my subject. Muratori and Leibnitz have sufficiently explained the origin of the Marquisses of Liguria, and perhaps of Tuscany: I am well acquainted with the history and monuments of Italy during

during the middle ages; and I am not diſſatisfied with what I have already written concerning that branch of the family of Eſte, which continued to reſide in its hereditary poſſeſſions. I am not unacquainted with the ancient Guelphs, nor incapable of giving an account of the power and downfal of their heirs, the Dukes of Bavaria and Saxony. The ſucceſſion of the Houſe of Brunſwick to the Crown of Great Britain will doubtleſs form the moſt intereſting part of my narrative; but the authors on this ſubject are in Engliſh; and it would be unpardonable in a Briton not to have ſtudied the modern hiſtory and preſent conſtitution of his country. But there is an interval of four hundred and fifty years between the firſt Duke of Brunſwick and the firſt Elector of that family; and the deſign of my work compels me to follow in obſcurity a rough and narrow path; where, by the diviſion and ſubdiviſion of ſo many branches and ſo many territories, I ſhall be involved in the mazes of a genealogical labyrinth. The events, which are deſtitute of connexion as well as of ſplendor, are confined to a ſingle province of Germany; and I muſt have reached near the end of the period, before my ſubject will be enlivened by the reformation of religion, the war of thirty years, and the new power acquired by the Electorate. As it is my purpoſe, rather to ſketch memoirs than to write hiſtory, my narrative muſt proceed with rapidity; and contain rather reſults than facts — rather reflections than details; but you are aware how much particular knowledge is requiſite for this general deſcription, the author of which ought to be far more learned than his work. Unfortunately, this author reſides at the diſtance of two hundred leagues from Saxony; he knows not the language, and has never made the hiſtory of Germany his particular ſtudy. Thus remote from the ſources of information, he can think of only one channel by which they may be made to

flow into his library; which is, by finding in th
country itself an accurate correspondent, an enlight
ened guide, in one word, an oracle, whom he ma
consult in every difficulty. Your learning an
character, as well as your abilities and situation
singularly qualify you for gratifying my wishes; an
should you point out to me a substitute equally wel
qualified with yourself, yet I could not have equa
confidence in the assistance of a person unknown t
me. I would teaze you with questions, and ne
questions would often be suggested by your answer
I would request you to ransack your vast library
and to supply me with books, extracts, translation
and information of every kind, conducive to m
undertaking. But I know not how far you are incline
to sacrifice your leisure and your favorite studies to
laborious correspondence, which promises neithe
fame nor pleasure. I flatter myself, you would d
something to oblige me; you would do more for th
honor of the Family with which you are connecte
by your employment. But what title have I to suppos
that any work of mine can contribute to its honor
I expect, Sir, your answer; and request that it ma
be speedy and frank. Should you condescend to assi
my labors, I will immediately send you some inte
rogatories. Your refusal, on the other hand, wi
make me lay aside the design, or at least oblige m
to give it a new form. I venture, at the same time
to entreat that the subject of this letter may remain
profound secret. An indiscreet word would b
repeated by a hundred mouths; and I should have th
uneasiness of seeing in the foreign journals, and soo
afterwards in the English newspapers, an account
and that, perhaps, an unfaithful one, of my literar
projects, the secret of which I intrust to you alon

NOTES

TO THE

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

Note to the Preface.

At Petersburgh and Vienna it was currently observed by the Corps iplomatique, that the English Miniſtry had published a Memorial written t only with great ability, but alſo in French, ſo correct, that they uſt have employed a Frenchman.

Notes to the Memoirs.

This paſſage is found in one only of the ſix ſketches, and in that which ms to have been the firſt written, and which was laid aſide among ſe papers. Mr. Gibbon, in his communications with me on the ſubject his Memoirs, a ſubject which he had never mentioned to any other rſon, expreſſed a determination of publiſhing them in his life-time; and ver appears to have departed from that reſolution, excepting in one his letters annexed, in which he intimates a doubt, though rather eleſsly, whether in his time, or at any time, they would meet the of the public.—In a converſation, however, not long before his death, was ſuggeſted to him, that, if he ſhould make them a full image of his nd, he would not have nerves to publiſh them in his life-time, and refore that they ſhould be poſthumous;—He anſwered, rather eagerly, t he was determined to publiſh them *in his life-time*. S.

The father of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke married an heireſs of this ily of Gibbon. The Chancellor's eſcutcheon in the Temple-Hall rters the arms of Gibbon, as does alſo that, in Lincoln's-Inn-Hall, Charles York, Chancellor in 1770. S.

Since inhabited by Mr. Wood, Sir John Shelley, the Duke of folk, &c. S.

The union to which I owe my birth was a marriage of inclination and em. Mr. James Porten, a merchant of London, reſided with his family utney, in a houſe adjoining to the bridge and church-yard, where I e paſſed many happy hours of my childhood. He left one ſon the late Stanier Porten, and three daughters: Catherine, who preſerved her den name, and of whom I ſhall hereafter ſpeak; another daughter married

Mr. Darrel of Richmond, and left two ſons, Edward and Robert; t youngeſt of the three ſiſters was Judith, my mother.

[5] It is ſaid in the family, that she was principally induced to this unde taking by her affection for her nephew, whoſe weak conſtitution requi her conſtant and unremitted attention. S.

[6] Mr. Gibbon never talked with me on the ſubject of his converſion popery but once; and then, he imputed his change to the works of Parſ the jeſuit, who lived in the reign of Elizabeth, and who, he ſaid, h urged all the beſt arguments in favor of the Roman catholic religion.

[7] He deſcribed the letter to his father, announcing his converſion, written with all the pomp, the dignity, and ſelf-ſatisfaction of a martyr.

[8] This was written on the information Mr. Gibbon had received, the obſervation he had made, previous to his late reſidence at Lauſan During his laſt viſit to England, he had an opportunity of ſeeing at Sh field-place ſome young men of the college above alluded to; he had gr ſatisfaction in converſing with them, made many inquiries reſpecting th courſe of ſtudy, applauded the diſcipline of Chriſt-Church, and the libe attention shown by the Dean, to thoſe whoſe only recommendation w their merit. Had Mr. Gibbon lived to reviſe this work, I am ſure he wo have mentioned the name of Dr. Jackſon with the higheſt commendatio There are other colleges at Oxford, with whoſe diſcipline my friend w unacquainted, to which, without doubt, he would willingly have allow their due praiſe, particularly Brazen-Noſe and Oriel-Colleges; the for under the care of Dr. Cleaver, biſhop of Cheſter, the latter under t of Dr. Eveleigh. It is ſtill greatly to be wished that the general expen or rather extravagance, of young men at our English univerſities may more effectually reſtrained. The expenſe, in which they are permit to indulge, is inconſiſtent not only with a neceſſary degree of ſtudy, with thoſe habits of morality which should be promoted, by all me poſſible, at an early period of life. An academical education in Engl is at preſent an object of alarm and terror to every thinking parent moderate fortune. It is the apprehenſion of the expenſe, of the diſſipati and other evil conſequences, which ariſe from the want of proper reſtr at our own univerſities, that forces a number of our English youth thoſe of Scotland, and utterly excludes many from any ſort of academ inſtruction. If a charge be true, which I have heard inſiſted on, that heads of our colleges in Oxford and Cambridge are vain of having u their care chiefly men of opulence, who may be ſuppoſed exempt from neceſſity of œconomical control, they are indeed highly cenſurab ſince the miſchief of allowing early habits of expenſe and diſſipation great, in various reſpects, even to thoſe poſſeſſed of large prope and the moſt ſerious evil from this indulgence muſt happen to yo of humbler fortune, who certainly form the majority of ſtudents bot Oxford and Cambridge. S.

[9] The author of a life of Bacon, which has been rated above its va of ſome forgotten poems and plays; and of the pathetic ballad William and Margaret.

[10] *Extract of a Letter from* M. PAVILLIARD *to* EDWARD GIBBON esq.

A Lausanne, ce 25 Juillet 1753.

Monsieur de Gibbon se porte très bien par la Grace de Dieu, et il me paroit qu'il ne se trouve pas mal de notre Maison; j'ai même lieu de penser qu'il prend de l'attachement pour moi, ce dont je suis charmé et que je travaillerai à augmenter, parce qu'il aura plus de confiance en moi, dans ce que je me propose de lui dire.

Je n'ai point encore entrepris de lui parler sur les matières de religion, parce que je n'entens pas assez la langue Angloise pour soutenir une longue conversation en cette langue, quoique je lise les auteurs Anglois avec assez de facilité; et Monsieur le Gibbon n'entend pas assez le François, mais il y fait beaucoup de progrès.

Je suis fort content de la politesse et de la douceur de charactère de Monsieur votre Fils, et je me flatte que je pourrai toujours vous parler de lui avec éloge; il s'applique beaucoup à la lecture.

From the Same to the Same.

A Lausanne, ce 13 Août 1753.

Monsieur de Gibbon se porte bien par la grace de Dieu; je l'aime, et je me suis extrêmement attaché à lui parce qu'il est doux et tranquille. Pour ce qui regarde ses sentimens, quoique je ne lui aie encore rien dit là dessus, j'ai lieu d'espérer qu'il ouvrira les yeux à la verité. Je le pense ainsi, parce qu'étant dans mon cabinet il a choisi deux livres de controverse qu'il a pris dans sa chambre et qu'il lit. Il m'a chargé de vous offrir ses très humble respects, et de vous demander la permission de le laisser monter au manége: cet exercise pourroit contribuer à donner de la force à son corps, c'est l'idée qu'il en a.

[11] M. Pavilliard has described to me the astonishment with which he gazed on Mr. Gibbon standing before him: a thin little figure, with a large head, disputing, and urging, with the greatest ability, all the best arguments that had ever been used in favor of popery. Mr. Gibbon many years ago became very fat and corpulent, but he had uncommonly small bones, and was very slight made. S.

[12] *Letter from* Mr. PAVILLIARD *to* EDWARD GIBBON esq.

Monsieur, June 26th. 1754.

J'espère que vous pardonnerez mon long silence en faveur des nouvelles que j'ai à vous apprendre. Si j'ai tant tardé, ce n'a été ni par oubli, ni par néligence, mais je croyois de semaine en semaine pouvoir vous annoncer que Monsieur votre fils avoit entièrement renoncé aux fausses idées qu'il avoit embrassées; mais il a fallu disputer le terrein pied, à pied, et je n'ai pas trouvé en lui un homme léger, et qui passe rapidement d'un sentiment à un autre. Souvent après avoir détruit toutes ses idées sur un article de manière qu'il n'avoit rien à répliquer, ce qu'il avouoit sans détour, il me disoit qu'il ne croioit pas, qu'il n'y eut rien à me répondre. Là dessus je n'ai pas jugé qu'il fallut le pousser à bout, et extorquer de lui un aveu que son cœur désavoueroit; je lui donnois alors du temps pour réfléchir

tous mes livres etoient à sa disposition ; je revenois à la charge quand il m'avouoit qu'il avoit étudié la matière aussi bien qu'il avoit pu, et enfin j'établissois une vérité.

Je me persuadois, que quand j'aurois détruit les principales erreurs de l'église Romaine, je n'aurois qu'à faire voir que les autres sont des conséquences des premières, et qu'elles ne peuvent subsister quand les fondamentales sont renversées ; mais, comme je l'ai dit, je me suis trompé, il a fallu traiter chaque article dans son entier. Par la grace de Dieu, je n'ai pas perdu mon temps, et aujourdhui, si même il conserve quelques restes de ses pernicieuses erreurs, j'ose dire qu'il n'est plus membre de l'église Romaine ; voici donc où nous en sommes.

J'ai renversé l'infaillibilité de l'église ; j'ai prouvé que jamais St. Pierre n'a été chef des apôtres : que quand il l'auroit été, le pape n'est point son successeur ; qu'il est douteux que St. Pierre a jamais été à Rome, mais supposé qu'il y ait été, il n'a pas été évêque de cette ville : que la transubstantiation est une invention humaine, et peu ancienne dans l'église ; que l'adoration de l'Eucharistie et le retranchement de la coupe sont contraires à la parole de Dieu : qu'il y a des saints, mais que nous ne savons pas qui ils sont, et par conséquent qu'on ne peut pas les prier ; que le respect et le culte qu'on rend aux reliques est condamnable ; qu'il n'y a point de purgatoire, et que la doctrine des indulgences est fausse : que le Carême et les jeûnes du Vendredi et du Samedi sont ridicules aujourdhui, et de la manière que l'église Romaine les prescrit : que les imputations que l'église de Rome nous fait de varier dans notre doctrine, et d'avoir pour reformateurs des personnes dont la conduite et les mœurs ont été en scandale, sont entièrement fausses.

Vous comprenez bien, Monsieur, que ces articles sont d'un longue discussion, qu'il a fallu du temps à Monsieur votre fils pour méditer mes raisons et pour y chercher des réponses. Je lui ai demandé plusieurs fois, si mes preuves et mes raisons lui paroissoient convainquantes : il m'a toujours assuré qu'oui, de façon que j'ose assurer, aussi comme je le lui ai dit à lui même, il y a peu de temps, qu'il n'étoit plus catholique Romain. Je me flatte, qu'après avoir obtenu la victoire sur ces articles, je l'aurai sur le reste avec le secours de Dieu. Tellement que je compte de vous marquer dans peu que cet ouvrage est fini, je dois vous dire encore, que quoique j'aie trouvé Mr. votre fils très ferme dans ses idées, je l'ai trouvé raisonnable, qu'il s'est rendu à la lumière, et qu'il n'est pas, ce qu'on appele, chicaneur. Par rapport à l'article du jeûne le Vendredi et Samedi, long temps après que je vous eus écrit qu'il n'avoit jamais marqué qu'il voulut l'observer, environ le commencement du mois de Mars je m'apperçus un Vendredi qu'il ne mangeoit point de viande ; je lui parlai en particulier pour en savoir la raison, craignant que ce ne fut par indisposition ; il me répondit qu'il l'avoit fait à dessein, et qu'il avoit cru être obligé de se conformer à la pratique d'une église dont il étoit membre : nous parlâmes quelques temps sur ce sujet ; il m'assura qu'il n'envisageoit cela que comme une pratique bonne à la verité, et qu'il devoit suivre, quoiqu'il ne la crut pas sainte en elle même, ni d'institution divine. Je ne crus pas devoir

inſiſter pour lors, ni le forcer à agir contre ſes lumières : j'ai traité cette article qui eſt certainement un des moins importants, des moins fondés; et cependant il m'a fallu un temps conſidérable pour le détromper, et pour lui faire comprendre qu'il avoit tort de s'aſſujettir à la pratique d'un Egliſe qu'il ne reconnoiſſoit plus pour infaillible; que ſi même cette pratique avoit eu quelque utilité dans ſon inſtitution, cependant elle n'en avoit aucune en elle même, puis qu'elle ne contribuoit en rien à la pureté des mœurs; qu'ainſi il n'y avoit aucune raiſon, ni dans l'inſtitution de cette pratique, ni dans la pratique elle même, qui l'autoriſât à s'y ſoumettre: qu'aujourdhui ce n'étoit qu'une affaire d'intérêt, puis qu'avec de l'argent on obtenoit des diſpenſes pour manger gras, &c. de manière que je l'ai ramené à la liberté Chrétienne avec beaucoup de peine et ſeulement dépuis quelques ſemaines. Je l'ai engagé a vous ecrire, pour vous manifeſter les ſentimens où il eſt, et l'état de ſa ſanté, et je crois qu'il l'a fait.

[13] JOURNAL, December 1755.]—In finishing this year, I must remark how favorable it was to my studies. In the space of eight months, from the beginning of April, I learnt the principles of drawing; made myself complete master of the French and Latin languages, with which I was very superficially acquainted before, and wrote and translated a great deal in both; read Cicero's Epistles ad Familiares, his Brutus, all his Orations, his Dialogues de Amicitiâ, and de Senectute; Terence, twice; and Pliny's Epistles. In French, Giannone's History of Naples, and l'Abbé Bannier's Mythology, and M. de Bochat's Mémoires sur la Suisse, and wrote a very ample relation of my tour. I likewise began to study Greek, and went through the Grammar. I begun to make very large collections of what I read. But what I esteem most of all, from the perusal and meditation of De Crousaz's Logic, I not only understood the principles of that science, but formed my mind to a habit of thinking and reasoning I had no idea of before.

[14] JOURNAL, January 1756.]—I determined to read over the Latin authors in order; and read this year, Virgil, Sallust, Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, Tacitus, Suetonius, Quintus Curtius, Justin, Florus, Plautus, Terence, and Lucretius. I also read and meditated Locke upon the Understanding.

[15] *Extract of a Letter from* M. PAVILLIARD *to* EDWARD GIBBON esq.

Monsieur, January 12th, 1757.

Vous avez souhaité que Monsieur votre fils s'appliquât à l'algèbre; le goût qu'il a pour les belles lettres lui faisoit appréhender que l'algèbre ne nuisit à ses études favorites; je lui ai persuadé qu'il ne se faisoit pas une juste idée de cette partie des mathématiques; l'obéissance qu'il vous doit, jointe à mes raisons, l'ont déterminé à en faire un cours. Je ne croiois pas qu'avec cette répugnance il y fit de grand progrès: je me suis trompé: il fait bien tout ce qu'il fait; il est exact à ses leçons, il s'applique à lire avant sa leçon, et il repasse avec soin, de manière qu'il avance beaucoup, et plus que je ne me serois attendu: il est charmé d'avoir

commencé, et je penſe qu'il fera un petit cours de géometrie, ce qui en tout ne lui prendra que ſept à huit mois. Pendant qu'il fait ſes leçons, il ne s'eſt point relâché ſur ſes autres études; il avance beaucoup dans le Grec, et il a preſque lu la moitié de l'Iliade d'Homere; je lui fais régulièrement des leçons ſur cet auteur: il a auſſi fini les Hiſtoriens Latins; il en eſt à preſent aux Poëtes; et il a lu entièrement Plante et Terence, et bientôt il aura fini Lucrece. Au reſte, il ne lit pas ces auteurs à la légère, il veut s'éclaircir ſur tout; de façon, qu'avec le génie qu'il a, l'excellente mémoire et l'application, il ira loin dans les ſciences.

J'ai eu l'honneur de vous dire ci-devant, que malgré ſes études il voioit compagnie; je puis vous le dire encore aujourdhui.

From the Same to the Same.

Monſieur, Jan. 14th, 1748.

J'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire le 27 Juillet et le 26 8bre paſſés, et je vous ai rendu compte de la ſanté, des études, et de la conduite de Monſieur votre fils. Je n'ai rien à ajouter à tout ce que je vous en ai dit: il ſe porte parfaitement bien par la grace de Dieu: il continue à étudier avec application, et je puis vous aſſurer qu'il fait des progrès conſidérables dans les études, et il ſe fait extrêmement eſtimer par tous ceux qui le connoiſſent, et j'eſpère que quand il vous montrera en détail ce qu'il ſait, vous en ſerez très content. Les Belles Lettres qui ſont ſon étude favorite ne l'occupent pas entièrement; il continue les mathématiques, et ſon profeſſeur m'aſſure qu'il n'a jamais vu perſonne avancer autant que lui, ni avoir plus d'ardeur et d'application qu'il en a. Son génie heureux et pénétrant eſt ſecondé par une mémoire des plus heureuſes, tellement qu'il n'oublie preſque rien de ce qu'il apprend. Je n'ai pas moins lieu d'être content de ſa conduite; quoiqu'il étudie beaucoup, il voit cependant compagnie, mais il ne voit que des perſonnes dont le commerce peut lui être utile.

[16] JOURNAL, January 1757.]—I began to ſtudy algebra under M. de Traytorrens, went through the elements of algebra and geometry, and the three firſt books of the Marquis de l'Hôpital's Conic Sections. I alſo read Tibullus, Catullus, Propertius, Horace (with Dacier's and Torrentius's notes), Virgil, Ovid's Epiſtles, with Meziriac's Commentary, the Ars Amandi, and the Elegies; likewiſe the Auguſtus and Tiberius of Suetonius, and a Latin tranſlation of Dion Caſſius, from the death of Julius Cæſar to the death of Auguſtus. I alſo continued my correſpondence begun laſt year with M. Allemand of Bex, and the Profeſſor Breitinger of Zurich; and opened a new one with the Profeſſor Geſner of Gottingen.

N. B. Laſt year and this, I read St John's Goſpel, with part of Xenophon's Cyropœdia; the Iliad, and Herodotus: but, upon the whole, I rather neglected my Greek.

[17] *From* EDWARD GIBBON *to* Mrs. PORTEN.

* * * *

* Now for myſelf,

As my father has given me leave to make a journey round Switzerland, we ſet out to-morrow. Buy a map of Switzerland, it will coſt you but a ſhilling, and follow me. I go by Iverdun, Neufchatel, Bienne or Biel, Soleure or Solothurn, Bale or Baſil, Bade, Zurich, Lucerne, and Bern. The voyage will be of about four weeks; ſo that *I hope to find a letter from you waiting for me.* As my father had given me leave to learn what I had a mind, I have learned to ride, and learn actually to dance and draw. Beſides that, I often give ten or twelve hours a day to my ſtudies. I find a great many agreeable people here; ſee them ſometimes, and can ſay upon the whole, without vanity, that though I am the Engliſhman here who ſpends the leaſt money, I am he who is the moſt generally liked. I told you that my father had promiſed to ſend me into France and Italy. I have thanked him for it; but if he would follow my plan, he won't do it yet a while. I never liked young travellers; they go too raw to make any great remarks, and they loſe a time which is (in my opinion) the moſt precious part of a man's life. My ſcheme would be, to ſpend this winter at Lauſanne: for though it is a very good place to acquire the air of good company and the French tongue, we have no good profeſſors. To ſpend (I ſay) the winter at Lauſanne; go into England to ſee my friends a couple of months, and after that, finish my ſtudies, either at Cambridge (for after what has paſſed one cannot think of Oxford), or at an univerſity in Holland. If you liked the ſcheme, *could you not propoſe it to my father by Metcalf, or ſomebody* who has *a certain credit over him?* I forgot to ask you whether, in caſe my father writes to tell me of his marriage, would you adviſe me to compliment my mother-in-law? I think ſo. My health is ſo very regular, that I have nothing to ſay about it.

I have been the whole day writing you this letter; the preparations for our voyage gave me a thouſand interruptions. Beſides that, I was obliged to write in Engliſh. This laſt reaſon will ſeem a paradox, but I aſſure you the French is much more familiar to me. I am, &c.

LAUSANNE, E. GIBBON.
Sept. 20, 1755.

[18] See Appendix, Letters, N° I. [19] Ditto, N° IV. and V.
[20] Ditto, N° VI. VII. and VIII.
[21] Ditto, N° II and III.
[22] *Extracts from the Journal.*

March 1757. I wrote ſome critical obſervations upon Plautus.
March 8th. I wrote a long diſſertation on ſome lines of Virgil.
June. I ſaw Mademoiſelle Curchod—*Omnia vincit amor, et nos cedamus amori.*
Auguſt. I went to Craſſy, and ſtaid two days.
Sept. 15th. I went to Geneva.
Oct. 15th. I came back to Lauſanne, having paſſed through Craſſy.
Nov. 1ſt. I went to viſit M. de Watteville at Loin, and ſaw Mademoiſelle Curchod in my way through Rolle.

Nov. 17th. I went to Craſſy, and ſtaid there ſix days.

Jan. 1758. In the three firſt months of this year I read Ovid's Metamorphoſes, finiſhed the conic ſections with M. de Traytorrent, and went as far as the infinite ſeries; I likewiſe read Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronology, and wrote my critical obſervations upon it.

Jan. 23d. I ſaw Alzire acted by the ſociety at Monrepos. Voltaire acted Alvares; d'Hermanches, Zamore; de St. Cierge, Guſman; M. de Gentil, Monteze; and Madame Denys, Alzire.

[23] See Oeuvres de Rouſſeau, tom. xxxiii. p. 88, 89. octavo edition. As an author I ſhall not appeal from the judgment, or taſte, or caprice of *Jean Jacques:* but that extraordinary man, whom I admire and pity, ſhould have been leſs precipitate in condemning the moral character and conduct of a ſtranger.

[24] Thus, like the creſted bird of Mars, at home
Engag'd in foul domeſtic jars,
And waſted with inteſtine wars,
Inglorious had'ſt thou ſpent thy vig'rous bloom;
—Had not ſedition's civil broils
Expell'd thee from thy native *Crete*,
And driv'n thee with more glorious toils
Th' *Olympic* crown in *Piſa's* plain to meet. *Weſt's Pindar.*

[25] The eſtate and manor of Beriton, otherwiſe Buriton, were conſiderable, and were ſold a few years ago to Lord Stawell. S.

[26] JOURNAL, March 8th, 1758.]—I began my Eſſai ſur l'Etude de la Littérature, and wrote the 23 firſt chapters (excepting the following ones, 11, 12, 13. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.) before I left Switzerland.

July 11th. I again took in hand my Eſſay; and in about ſix weeks finiſhed it, from C. 23—55, (excepting 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33. and note to C. 38.) beſides a number of chapters from C. 55. to the end, which are now ſtruck out.

Feb. 11th, 1759. I wrote the chapters of my Eſſay, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31. the note to C. 38. and the firſt part of the preface.

April 23d, 1761. Being at length, by my father's advice, determined to publiſh my Eſſay, I reviſed it with great care, made many alterations, ſtruck out a conſiderable part, and wrote the chapters from 57—78. which I was obliged myſelf to copy out fair.

June 10th, 1761. Finding the printing of my book proceeded but ſlowly, I went up to town, where I found the whole was finiſhed. I gave Becket orders for the preſents: 20 for Lauſanne; copies for the Duke of Richmond, Marquis of Carnarvon, Lords Waldegrave, Litchfield, Bath, Granville, Bute, Shelbourn, Cheſterfield, Hardwicke, Lady Hervey, Sir Joſeph Yorke, Sir Matthew Featherſtone, M. M. Mallet, Maty, Scott, Wray, Lord Egremont, M. de Buſſy, Mademoiſelle la Ducheſſe d'Aguillon, and M. le Comte de Caylus:—great part of theſe were only my father's or Mallet's acquaintance.

[27] See Appendix, Letter, N°. X.

[28] The copious extracts which were given in the *Journal Etranger* by Mr. Suard, a judicious critic, muſt ſatisfy both the author and the public. I may here obſerve, that I have never ſeen in any literary review a tolerable account of my Hiſtory. The manufacture of journals, at leaſt on the continent, is miſerably debaſed.

[29] Epiſt. ad Atticum, lib. v. 15.

[30] JOURNAL, January 11th, 1761.]—In theſe ſeven or eight months of a moſt diſagreeably active life, I have had no ſtudies to ſet down; indeed, I hardly took a book in my hand the whole time. The firſt two months at Blandford, I might have done ſomething; but the novelty of the thing, of which for ſome time I was ſo fond as to think of going into the army, our field-days, our dinners abroad, and the drinking and late hours we got into, prevented any ſerious reflections. From the day we marched from Blandford I had hardly a moment I could call my own, almoſt continually in motion; if I was fixed for a day, it was in the guard-room, a barrack, or an inn. Our diſputes conſumed the little time I had left. Every letter, every memorial relative to them fell to my ſhare; and our evening-conferences were uſed to hear all the morning-hours ſtrike. At laſt I got to Dover, and Sir Thomas left us for two months. The charm was over, I was ſick of ſo hateful a ſervice; I was ſettled in a comparatively quiet ſituation. Once more I began to taſte the pleaſure of thinking.

Recollecting ſome thoughts I had formerly had in relation to the ſyſtem of Paganiſm, which I intended to make uſe of in my Eſſay, I reſolved to read Tully de Naturâ Deorum, and finished it in about a month. I loſt ſome time before I could recover my habit of application.

Oct. 23d.]—Our firſt deſign was to march through Marlborough; but finding on inquiry that it was a bad road, and a great way about, we reſolved to push for the Devizes in one day, though nearly thirty miles. We accordingly arrived there about three o'clock in the afternoon.

Nov. 2d.]—I have very little to ſay for this and the following month. Nothing could be more uniform than the life I led there. The little civility of the neighbouring gentlemen gave us no opportunity of dining out; the time of year did not tempt us to any excurſions round the country; and at firſt my indolence, and afterwards a violent cold, prevented my going over to Bath. I believe in the two months I never dined or lay from quarters. I can therefore only ſet down what I did in the literary way. Deſigning to recover my Greek, which I had ſomewhat neglected, I ſet myſelf to read Homer, and finished the four firſt books of the Iliad, with Pope's tranſlation and notes; at the ſame time, to underſtand the geography of the Iliad, and particularly the catalogue, I read the 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, 13th, and 14th books of Strabo, in Caſaubon's Latin's tranſlation; I likewiſe read Hume's Hiſtory of England to the Reign of Henry the Seventh, juſt published, *ingenious but ſuperficial*; and the *Journals des Sçavans* for Auguſt, September, and October 1761, with the *Bibliothéque des Sciences*, etc. from July to October: Both theſe Journals ſpeak very handſomely of my book.

December 25th, 1761.] — When, upon finishing the year, I take a review of what I have done, I am not diſſatisfied with what I did in it upon making proper allowances. On the one hand, I could begin nothing before the middle of January. The Deal-duty loſt me part of February; although I was at home part of March, and all April, yet electioneering is no friend to the Muſes. May, indeed, though diſſipated by our feſtive parties, was pretty quiet; but June was abſolutely loſt, upon the march at Alton, and ſettling ourſelves in camp. The four ſucceeding months in camp allowed me little leiſure, and leſs quiet. November and December were indeed as much my own as any time can be whilſt I remain in the militia; but ſtill it is, at beſt, not a life for a man of letters. However in this tumultuous year, (beſides ſmaller things which I have ſet down,) I read four books of Homer in Greek, ſix of Strabo in Latin, Cicero de Naturâ Deorum, and the great philoſophical and theological work of M. de Beauſobre: I wrote in the ſame time a long diſſertation on the ſucceſſion of Naples; reviewed, fitted for the preſs, and augmented above a fourth, my Eſſay ſur l'Etude de la Littérature.

In the ſix weeks I paſſed at Beriton, as I never ſtirred from it, every day was like the former. I had neither viſits, hunting, or walking. My only reſources were myſelf, my books, and family-converſations. But to me theſe were great reſources.

April 24th, 1762.] — I waited upon Colonel Harvey in the morning to get him to apply for me to be brigade-major to Lord Effingham, as a poſt I ſhould be very fond of, and for which I am not unfit. Harvey received me with great good-nature and candor, told me he was both willing and able to ſerve me; that indeed he had already applied to Lord Effingham for *****, one of his own officers, and though there would be more than one brigade-major, he did not think he could properly recommend two; but that if I could get ſome other perſon to break the ice, he would ſecond it, and believed he ſhould ſucceed: ſhould that fail, as ***** was in bad circumſtances, he believed he could make a compromiſe with him (this was my deſire) to let me do the duty without pay. I went from him to the Mallets, who promiſed to get Sir Charles Howard to ſpeak to Lord Effingham.

Auguſt 22d.] — I went with Ballard to the French church, where I heard a moſt indifferent ſermon preached by M. ******. A very bad ſtyle, a worſe pronunciation and action, and a very great vacuity of ideas, compoſed this excellent performance. Upon the whole, which is preferable, the philoſophic method of the English, or the rhetoric of the French preachers? The firſt (though leſs glorious) is certainly eaſier for the preacher. It is difficult for a man to make himſelf ridiculous who propoſes only to deliver plain ſenſe on a ſubject he has thoroughly ſtudied. But the inſtant he diſcovers the leaſt pretenſions towards the ſublime, or the pathetic, there is no medium; we muſt either admire or laugh: and there are ſo many various talents requiſite to form the character of an orator, that it is more than probable we ſhall laugh, to the advantage of the hearer, which ought to be the great conſi-

ón, the dilemma is much greater. Excepting in ſome particular
ſes, where we are blinded by popular prejudices, we are in general
well acquainted with our duty, that it is almoſt ſuperfluous to con-
nce us of it. It is the heart, and not the head, that holds out; and it
certainly poſſible, by a moving eloquence, to rouſe the ſleeping ſenti-
ents of that heart, and incite it to acts of virtue. Unluckily it is not
much acts, as habits of virtue, we ſhould have in view; and the
eacher who is inculcating, with the eloquence of a Bourdaloue, the
eceſſity of a virtuous life, will diſmiſs his aſſembly full of emotions,
hich a variety of other objects, the coldneſs of our northern conſtitu-
ons, and no immediate opportunity of exerting their good reſolutions,
ill diſſipate in a few moments.

Auguſt 24th.] — The ſame reaſon that carried ſo many people to the
Tembly to-night, was what kept me away; I mean the dancing.

28th.] — To-day Sir Thomas came to us to dinner. The Spa has done
im a great deal of good, for he looks another man. Pleaſed to ſee him,
e kept bumperizing till after roll-calling; Sir Thomas aſſuring us,
very freſh bottle, how infinitely ſoberer he was grown.

29th.] — I felt the uſual conſequences of Sir Thomas's company, and
t a morning, becauſe I had loſt the day before. However, having
iſhed Voltaire, I returned to Le Clerc (I mean for the amuſement
my leiſure-hours): and laid aſide for ſome time his *Bibliothéque*
niverſelle, to look into the *Bibliothéque Choiſie*, which is by far the
tter work.

September 23.] — Colonel Wilkes, of the Buckingamshire militia,
ed with us, and renewed the acquaintance Sir Thomas and myſelf
d begun with him at Reading. I ſcarcely ever met with a better com-
nion; he has inexhauſtible ſpirits, infinite wit and humor, and a
at deal of knowledge. He told us himſelf, that in this time of public
enſion he was reſolved to make his fortune. Upon this principle
has connected himſelf cloſely with Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt,
nmenced a public adverſary to Lord Bute, whom he abuſes weekly
the North-Briton, and other political papers in which he is concerned.
is proved a very debauched day: we drank a good deal both after
ner and ſupper; and when at laſt Wilkes had retired, Sir Thomas
ſome others (of whom I was not one) broke into his room, and
de him drink a bottle of claret in bed.

ctober 5th.] — The review, which laſted about three hours, con-
ded, as uſual, with marching by Lord Effingham, by grand diviſions.
n the whole, conſidering the camp had done both the Winchester
the Goſport-duties all the ſummer, they behaved very well, and
de a fine appearance. As they marched by, I had my uſual curioſity
count their files. The following is my field-return: I think it a
oſity; I am ſure it is more exact than is commonly made to a
ewing general.

		Number of Files.	Number of Men.	Eſtablishment
Berkshire,	Grenadiers,	91	91 — 273 —	560
	Battalion,	72		
W. Eſſex,	Grenadiers,	15	95 — 285 —	480
	Batalion,	80		
S. Glôſter,	Grenadiers,	20	104 — 312 —	600
	Battalion,	84		
N. Glôſter,	Grenadiers,	13	65 — 195 —	360
	Battalion,	52		
Lancashire,	Grenadiers,	20	108 — 324 —	800
	Battalion,	88		
Wiltshire,	Grenadiers,	24	144 — 432 —	800
	Battalion,	120		
	Total,	607	1821	3600

N. B. The Goſport-detachment from the Lancashire conſiſted of tw hundred and fifty men. The Buckinghamshire took the Winche duty that day.

So that this camp in England, ſuppoſed complete, with only o detachment, had under arms, on the day of the grand review, lit more than half their eſtablishment. This amazing deficiency (thou exemplified in every regiment I have ſeen) is an extraordinary milita phœnomenon: what muſt it be upon foreign ſervice? I doubt whet a nominal army of a hundred thouſand men often brings fifty into t field.

Upon our return to Southampton in the evening, we found S Thomas Worsley.

October 21ſt.] — One of thoſe impulſes, which it is neither re eaſy nor very neceſſary to withſtand, drew me from Longinus to a re different ſubject, the Greek Calendar. Laſt night, when in bed, I w thinking of a diſſertation of M. de la Nauze upon the Roman calend which I read laſt year. This led me to conſider what was the Gre and finding myſelf very ignorant of it, I determined to read a shor but very excellent abſtract of Mr. Dodwell's book de Cyclis, by t famous Dr. Halley. It is only twenty-five pages; but as I meditat it thoroughly, and verified all the calculations, it was a very go morning's work.

October 28th.] — I looked over a new Greek Lexicon which I ha juſt received from London. It is that of Robert Conſtantine, Lugd 1637. It is a very large volume in folio, in two parts, compriſing the whole 1785 pages. After the great Theſaurus, this is eſteemed t beſt Greek Lexicon. It ſeems to be ſo. Of a variety of words for wh I looked, I always found an exact definition; the various ſenſes w diſtinguiſhed, and properly ſupported, by the beſt authorities. Howev I ſtill prefer the radical method of Scapula to this alphabetical one.

December 11th.] — I have already given an idea of the Goſport-du I ſhall only add a trait which characterizes admirably our unthinki

ilors. At a time when they knew that they should infallibly be dif-
arged in a few weeks, numbers, who had conſiderable wages due to
em, were continually jumping over the walls, and riſquing the loſing
it for a few hours amuſement at Portſmouth.

17th.]—We found old Captain Meard at Alresford, with the ſecond
viſion of the fourteenth. He and all his officers ſupped with us, and
ade the evening rather a drunken one.

18th.]—About the ſame hour our two corps paraded to march off.
hey, an old corps of regulars, who had been two years quiet in
over-caſtle. We, part of a young body of militia, two-thirds of our
en recruits, of four months ſtanding, two of which they had paſſed
on very diſagreeable duty. Every advantage was on their ſide, and
t our ſuperiority, both as to appearance and diſcipline, was ſo
king, that the moſt prejudiced regular could not have heſitated a
ment. At the end of the town our two companies ſeparated; my
her's ſtruck off for Petersfield, whilſt I continued my rout to
on; into which place I marched my company about noon; two
rs ſix months and fifteen days after my firſt leaving it. I gave the
n ſome beer at roll-calling, which they received with great cheer-
neſs and decency. I dined and lay at Harriſon's, where I was
eived with that old-faſhioned breeding, which is at once ſo honorable
l ſo troubleſome.

3d.]—Our two companies were diſembodied; mine at Alton, and
father's at Beriton. Smith marched them over from Petersfield:
y fired three vollies, lodged the major's colors, delivered up their
s, received their money, partook of a dinner at the major's expenſe,
then ſeparated with great cheerfulneſs and regularity. Thus ended
militia; I may ſay ended, ſince our annual aſſemblies in May are
ery precarious, and can be of ſo little uſe. However, our ſerjeants
drums are ſtill kept up, and quartered at the rendezvous of their com-
y, and the adjutant remains at Southampton in full pay.

s this was an extraordinary ſcene of life, in which I was engaged
ve three years and a half from the date of my commiſſion, and above
years and a half from the time of our embodying, I cannot take
eave of it without ſome few reflections. When I engaged in it, I
totally ignorant of its nature and conſequences. I offered, becauſe
father did, without ever imagining that we ſhould be called out,
t was too late to retreat with honor. Indeed, I believe it happens
ughout, that our moſt important actions have been often determined
hance, caprice, or ſome very inadequate motive. After our embo-
g, many things contributed to make me ſupport it with great impa-
e. Our continual diſputes with the duke of Bolton; our unſettled
of life, which hardly allowed me books or leiſure for ſtudy; and
than all, the diſagreeable ſociety in which I was forced to live.

ter mentioning my ſufferings, I muſt ſay ſomething of what I found
able. Now it is over, I can make the ſeparation much better than
d at the time. 1. The unſettled way of life itſelf had its advantages,

The exercise and change of air and of objects amused me, at the same ti
that it fortified my health. 2. A new field of knowledge and amusem
opened itself to me; that of military affairs, which, both in my studi
and travels, will give me eyes for a new world of things, which befo
would have passed unheeded. Indeed, in that respect I can hardly he
wishing our battalion had continued another year. We had got a fine
of new men, all our difficulties were over; we were perfectly well clothe
and appointed; and, from the progress our recruits had already mad
we could promise ourselves that we should be one of the best militia cor
by next summer: a circumstance that would have been the more agreeab
to me, as I am now established the real acting major of the battali
But what I value most, is the knowledge it has given me of mankind
general, and of my own country in particular. The general system
our government, the methods of our several offices, the depart
and powers of their respective officers, our provincial and munici
administration, the views of our several parties, the characters co
nexions, and influence of our principal people, have been impressed
my mind, not by vain theory, but by the indelible lessons of action a
experience. I have made a number of valuable acquaintance, and
myself much better known, than (with my reserved character) I sho
have been in ten years, passing regularly my summers at Beriton,
my winters in London. So that the sum of all is, that I am glad
militia has been, and glad that it is no more.

[31] JOURNAL, May 8th, 1762.]—This was my birth-day, on wh
I entered into the twenty-sixth year of my age. This gave me occasio
look a little into myself, and consider impartially my good and bad q
lities. It appeared to me, upon this inquiry, that my character was virtu
incapable of a base action, and formed for generous ones; but that it
proud, violent, and disagreeable in society. These qualities I mus
deavour to cultivate, extirpate, or restrain, according to their diffe
tendency. Wit I have none. My imagination is rather strong than plea
My memory both capacious and retentive. The shining qualities of
understanding are extensiveness and penetration; but I want both quick
and exactness. As to my situation in life, though I may sometimes re
at it, it perhaps is the best adapted to my character. I can comman
the conveniences of life, and I can command too that independence, (
first earthly blessing,) which is hardly to be met with in a higher or lo
fortune. When I talk of my situation, I must exclude that temporary
of being in the militia. Though I go through it with spirit and applicat
it is both unfit for, and unworthy of me.

[32] See Appendix, Letter, N° XIV. *excellent*, from Mr. Scot
Mr. Gibbon.

[33] —— Fair wind, and blowing fresh,
Apollo sent them; quick they rear'd the mast,
Then spread th'unsullied canvas to the gale,
And the wind fill'd it. Roar'd the sable flood

Arou

Around the bark, that ever as she went
Dash'd wide the brine, and ſcudded ſwift away.

COWPER'S *Homer.*

34 See Miſcellaneous Works.

35 Ibid.

36 JOURNAL, July 27, 1762.]—The reflections which I was making yeſterday I continued and digeſted to day. I don't abſolutely look on that time as loſt, but that it might have been better employed than in revolving ſchemes, the execution of which is ſo far diſtant. I muſt learn to check theſe wanderings of my imagination.

Nov. 24.] — I dined at the Cocoa Tree with *****; who, under a great appearance of oddity, conceals more real honor, good ſenſe, and even knowledge, than half thoſe who laugh at him. We went thence to the play (the Spaniſh Friar); and when it was over, returned to the Cocoa Tree. That reſpectable body, of which I have the honor of being a member, affords every evening a ſight truly Engliſh. Twenty or thirty, perhaps, of the firſt men in the kingdom, in point of faſhion and fortune, ſupping at little tables covered with a napkin, in the middle of a coffee-room, upon a bit of cold meat, or a Sandwich, and drinking a glaſs of punch. At preſent, we are full of king's counſellors and lords of the bedchamber; who, having jumped into the miniſtry, make a very ſingular medley of their old principles and language, with their modern ones.

Nov. 26.] — I went with Mallet to breakfaſt with Garrick; and thence to Drurylane Houſe, where I aſſiſted at a very private rehearſal, in the Green-room, of a new tragedy of Mallet's, called Elvira. As I have ſince ſeen it acted, I ſhall defer my opinion of it till then; but I cannot help mentioning here the ſurpriſing verſatility of Mrs. Pritchard's talents, who rehearſed, almoſt at the ſame time, the part of a furious queen in the Green-room, and that of a coquette on the ſtage; and paſſed ſeveral times from one to the other with the utmoſt eaſe and happineſs.

Dec. 30.] — Before I cloſe the year I muſt balance my accounts — not of money, but of time. I may divide my ſtudies into four branches: 1. Books that I have read for themſelves, claſſic writers, or capital treatiſes upon any ſcience; ſuch books as ought to be peruſed with attention, and meditated with care. Of theſe I read *the twenty laſt books of the Iliad* twice, *the three firſt books of the Odyſſee*, *the Life of Homer*, and *Longinus* περὶ Ὕψους. 2. Books which I have read, or conſulted, to illuſtrate the former. Such as this year, *Blackwell's Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, *Burke's Sublime and Beautiful*, *Hurd's Horace*, *Guichard's Mémoires Militaires*, a great variety of paſſages of the ancients occaſionally uſeful: large extracts from *Mezeriac*, *Bayle*, and *Potter*; and many memoirs and abſtracts from the *Academy of Belles Letters*: among theſe I ſhall only mention here two long and curious ſuites of diſſertations — *the one upon the Temple of Delphi*, *the Amphictyonic Council*, *and the Holy Wars*, *by M. M. Hardion and de Valois*; *the other upon the Games of the Grecians*, *by M. M. Burette*, *Gedoyne*, *and de la Barre*. 3. Books of

amuſement and inſtruction, peruſed at my leiſure hours, without any reference to a regular plan of ſtudy. Of theſe, perhaps, I read too many, ſince I went through the Life of Eraſmus, by Le Clerc and Burigny, many extracts from *Le Clerc's Bibliothéques*, *The Ciceronianus*, and *Colloquies of Eraſmus*, *Barclay's Argenis*, *Teraſſon's Sethos*, *Voltaire's Siècle de Louis XIV. Madame de Motteville's Memoirs*, and *Fontenelle's Works*. 4. Compoſitions of my own. I find hardly any, except *this Journal*, and the *Extract of Hurd's Horace*, which (like a chapter of Montaigne) contains many things very different from its title. To theſe four heads I muſt this year add a fifth. 5. Thoſe treatiſes of English hiſtory which I read in January, with a view to my now abortive ſcheme of the *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*. I ought indeed to have known my own mind better before I undertook them. Upon the whole, after making proper allowances, I am not diſſatisfied with the year.

The three weeks which I paſſed at Beriton, at the end of this and the beginning of the enſuing year, are almoſt a blank. I ſeldom went out; and as the ſcheme of my travelling was at laſt entirely ſettled, the hurry of impatience, the cares of preparations, and the tenderneſs of friends I was going to quit, allowed me hardly any moments for ſtudy.

[37] JOURNAL, January 11th, 1763.] — I called upon Dr. Maty in the morning. He told me that the Duke de Nivernois deſired to be acquainted with me. It was indeed with that view that I had written to Maty from Beriton to preſent, in my name, a copy of my book to him. Thence I went to Becket, paid him his bill, (fifty-four pounds,) and gave him back his tranſlation. It muſt be printed, though very indifferent. My comfort is, that my misfortune is not an uncommon one. We dined and ſupped at the Mallets.

12th. I went with Maty to viſit the Duke in Albemarle Street. He is a little emaciated figure, but appears to poſſeſs a good underſtanding, taſte and knowledge. He offered me very politely letters for Paris. We dined at our lodgings. I went to Covent Garden to ſee Woodward in Bobadil, and ſupped with the Mallets at George Scott's.

JOURNAL, Jan. 19th, 1763.] — I waited upon Lady Hervey and the Duke de Nivernois, and received my credentials. Lady Hervey's are for M. le Comte de Caylus, and Madame Geoffrin. The Duke received me civilly, but (perhaps through Maty's fault) treated me more as a man of letters, than as a man of faſhion. His letters are entirely in that ſtyle; for the Count de Caylus and M. M. de la Bleterie, de Ste Palaye, Caperonier, du Clos, de Foncemagne, and d'Alembert. I then undreſſed for the play. My father and I went to the Roſe, in the paſſage of the play-houſe, where we found Mallet, with about thirty friends. We dined together, and went thence into the pit, where we took our places in a body, ready to ſilence all oppoſition. However, we had no occaſion to exert ourſelves. Notwithſtanding the malice of party, Mallet's nation, connexions, and, indeed, imprudence, we heard nothing but applauſe. I think it was deſerved. The plan was borrowed from de la Motte, but the details and language have great merit. A fine vein of dramatic poetry runs through the piece. The ſcenes betwe

the father and ſon awaken almoſt every ſenſation of the human breaſt; and the counſel would have equally moved, but for the inconvenience unavoidable upon all theatres, that of intruſting fine ſpeeches to indifferent actors. The perplexity of the cataſtrophe is much, and I believe juſtly, criticiſed. But another defect made a ſtronger impreſſion upon me. When a poet ventures upon the dreadful ſituation of a father who condemns his ſon to death, there is no medium, the father muſt either be a monſter or a hero. His obligations of juſtice, of the public good, muſt be as binding, as apparent, as perhaps thoſe of the firſt Brutus. The cruel neceſſity conſecrates his actions, and leaves no room for repentance. The thought is ſhocking, if not carried into action. In the execution of Brutus's ſons I am ſenſible of that fatal neceſſity. Without ſuch an example, the unſettled liberty of Rome would have periſhed the inſtant after its birth. But Alonzo might have pardoned his ſon for a raſh attempt, the cauſe of which was a private injury, and whoſe conſequences could never have diſturbed an eſtabliſhed government. He might have pardoned ſuch a crime in any other ſubject; and as the laws could exact only an equal rigor for a ſon, a vain appetite for glory, and a mad affectation of heroiſm, could alone have influenced him to exert an unequal and ſuperior ſeverity.

[38 JOURNAL, 21 Février 1763.] — Aujourd'hui j'ai commencé ma journée, pour voir les endroits dignes d'attention dans la ville. D'Augny m'a accompagné. Nous ſommes allés d'abord à la bibliothéque de l'Abbaye de St. Germain des Prez, où tout le monde étoit occupé à l'arrangement d'un cabinet de curioſités, et à l'hôpital des Invalides, où on me étoit fermé à cauſe des réparations qu'on y faiſoit. Il faut donc différer la viſite et la deſcription de ces deux endroits. De là nous ſommes allés voir l'école militaire. Comme ce bâtiment s'éleve à côté des Invalides, bien des gens y verroient un moyen aſſez facile d'apprécier les ames différentes de leurs fondateurs. Dans l'un tout eſt grand et faſtueux, dans l'autre tout eſt petit et meſquin. De petits corps de logis blancs et aſſez propres, qui, au lieu de 500 gentilshommes, dont on a parlé, en contiennent 258, compoſent tout l'établiſſement; car le manége et les écuries ne ſont rien. Il eſt vrai qu'on dit que ces bâtimens ne ſont qu'un échaffaudage, qu'on doit ôter, pour élever le véritable ouvrage ſur ces débris. Il faut bien en effet qu'on n'ait pas bâti pour l'éternité, puiſque dans vingt ans la plûpart des poutres ſe ſont pourries. Nous jettâmes enſuite un coup d'œil ſur l'égliſe de St. Sulpice, dont la façade (le prétexte et le fruit de tant de lotteries) n'eſt point encore achevée.

[39 JOURNAL, Février 23, 1763.] — Je fis une viſite à l'Abbé de la Véterie, qui veut me mener chez la Ducheſſe d'Aiguillon; je me fis écrire chez M. de Bougainville que j'ai grande envie de connoître, et me rendis enſuite chez le Baron d'Olbach, ami de M. Helvetius. C'étoit ma première viſite, et le premier pas dans une fort bonne maiſon. Le Baron a de l'eſprit des connoiſſances, et ſurtout il donne ſouvent et fort bien à dîner.

Février 24.] — L'Abbé Barthélémy eſt fort aimable et n'a de l'antiquaire

qu'une très grande érudition. Je finis la ſoirée par un ſouper très agréable chez Madame Bontemps avec M. le Marquis de Mirabeau. Cet homme eſt ſingulier; il a aſſez d'imagination pour dix autres, et pas aſſez de ſens raſſis pour lui ſeul. Je lui ai fait beaucoup de queſtions ſur les titres de la nobleſſe Françoiſe; mais tout ce que j'en ai pu comprendre, c'eſt que perſonne n'a là deſſus des idées bien nettes.

Mai 1763.] — Muni d'une double lettre de recommandation pour M. le Comte de Caylus, je m'étois imaginé que je trouverois reunis en lui l'homme de lettres et l'homme de qualité: Je le vis trois ou quatre fois, et je vis un homme ſimple, uni, bon, et qui me témoignoit une bonté extrême. Si je n'en ai point profité, je l'attribue moins à ſon caractère qu'à ſon genre de vie. Il ſe leve de grand matin, court les atteliers des artiſtes pendant tout le jour, et rentre chez lui à ſix heurs du ſoir pour ſe mettre en robe de chambre, et s'enfermer dans ſon cabinet. Le moyen de voir ſes amis?

Si ces recommendations étoient ſtériles, il y en eut d'autres qui devinrent auſſi fécondes par leurs ſuites, qu'elles étoient agréables en elles mêmes. Dans une capitale comme Paris, il eſt néceſſaire, il eſt juſte que des lettres de recommendation vous ayent diſtingué de la foule. Mais dèſque la glace eſt rompue, vos connoiſſances ſe multiplient, et vos nouveaux amis ſe font un plaiſir de vous en procurer d'autres plus nouveaux encore. Heureux effet de ce caractère léger et aimable du François, qui a établi dans Paris une douceur et une liberté dans la ſociété, inconnues à l'antiquité, et encore ignorées des autres nations. A Londres il faut faire ſon chemin dans les maiſons qui ne s'ouvrent qu'avec peine. Là on croit vous faire plaiſir en vous recevant. Ici on croit s'en faire à ſoi-même. Auſſi je connois plus de maiſons à Paris qu'à Londres: le fait n'eſt pas vraiſemblable, mais il eſt vrai.

4° JOURNAL, September 18, 1763.] — ***** et **** nous ont quittés. Le premier eſt une méchante bête, groſſier, ignorant, et ſans uſage du monde. Sa violence lui a fait vingt mauvaiſes affaires ici. On voulut cependant lui faire entreprendre le voyage d'Italie, mais **** refuſant d'y accompagner, on a pris le parti de le rappeler en Angleterre en lui faiſant paſſer par Paris. **** eſt philoſophe, et fort inſtruit, mais froid et nullement homme d'eſprit. Il eſt las de courir le monde avec des jeunes fous. Après avoir rendu celui-ci à ſa famille, il compte venir chercher le repos et la retraite dans ce pays. Qu'il a raiſon!

September 21me.] — J'ai eſſuyé une petite mortification au cercle. Le départ de Frey ayant fait vacquer l'emploi de directeur des étrangers, on m'avoit fait entrevoir qu'on me le deſtinoit, et ma franchiſe naturelle ne m'avoit pas permis de diſſimuler que je le recevrois avec plaiſir, et que je m'y attendois. Cependant la pluralité des voix l'a donné à M. Rogg Hollandois. J'ai vu qu'on a ſaiſi le premier moment que les loix permettoient de balloter, et que, ſi j'avois voulu raſſembler mes amis, je l'aurois emporté; mais je ſais en même temps que je l'aurois eu il y a trois mois

ans y ſonger un moment. Ma reputation baiſſe ici avec quelque raiſon, t j'ai des ennemis.

Septembre 25me.] — J'ai paſſé l'après diner chez Madame de *****. Je e l'avois pas vue depuis le 14 de ce mois. Elle ne m'a point parlé, n'n'a aru s'être apperçue de mon abſence. Ce ſilence m'a fait de la peine. 'avois une très belle réputation ici pour les mœurs, mais je vois qu'on ommence à me confondre avec mes compatriotes et à me regarder comme n homme qui aime le vin et le déſordre.

Octobre 15me.] — J'ai paſſé l'après midi chez Madame de Meſery. Elle ouloit me faire rencontrer avec une Demoiſelle Françoiſe qu'elle a prié à ouper; cette Demoiſelle, qui s'apelle Le Franc, a ſix pieds de haut. Sa aille, ſa figure, ſon ton, ſa converſation, tout annonce le grenadier le lus déterminé, mais un grenadier, qui a de l'eſprit, des connoiſſances, t l'uſage du monde. Auſſi ſon ſexe, ſon nom, ſon état, tout eſt myſtère. lle ſe dit Pariſienne, fille de condition, qui s'eſt retirée dans ce pays our cauſe de religion. Ne feroit-ce pas plûtot pour une affaire 'honneur?

Lauſanne, December 16me, 1763.] — Je me ſuis levé tard, et une ſite fort amicale de M. de Chandieu Villars †, m'a enlevé ce qui me reſtoit e la matinée. M. de Chandieu a ſervi en France avec diſtinction, et s'eſt tiré avec le grade de maréchal de camp. C'eſt une homm d'une grande olieſſe, d'un eſprit vif et facile; il feroit aujourd'hui à ſoixante ans, agrément d'une ſociété de jeunes filles. C'eſt preſque le ſeul étranger qui t pu acquérir l'aiſance des manières Françoiſes, ſans en prendre en même mps les airs bruyans et étourdis.

Lauſanne, Décembre 18me, 1763.] — C'étoit un Dimanche de mmunion. Les cérémonies religieuſes ſont bien étendues dans ce pays. les ſont rares, et par là même plus reſpectées; les Vieillards ſe plaignent la vérité du refroidiſſement de la dévotion; cependant un jour, comme lui-ci, offre encore un ſpectacle très édifiant. Point d'affaires, point aſſemblée; on s'interdit juſqu'au *whiſt* ſi néceſſaire a l'exiſtence d'un uſannois.

Décembre 31me.]—Jetons un coup d'œil ſur cette année 1763. Voyons mment j'ai employé cette portion de mon exiſtence qui s'eſt écoulée et i ne reviendra plus. Le mois de Janvier s'eſt paſſé dans le ſein de ma mille à qui il falloit ſacrifier tous mes momens, parcequ'ils étoient les rniers dans les ſoins d'un départ et dans l'embarras d'un voyage. Dans voyage cependant je trouvai moyen de lire les lettres de *Busbequius*, iniſtre Impérial à la Porte. Elles ſont auſſi intéreſſantes qu'inſtructives. reſtai à Paris depuis le 28 JANVIER juſqu'au 9 MAI. Pendant tout ce mps je n'étudiai point. Les amuſements m'occupoient beaucoup, et abitude de la diſſipation, qu'on prend ſi facilement dans les grandes

† The father of Madame de Severy, whoſe family were Mr. Gibbon's ſt intimate friends, after he had ſettled at Lauſanne in the r 1783. S.

villes, ne me permettoient pas de mettre à profit le temps qui me demeuroit. A la vérité, si j'ai peu feuilleté les livres, l'observation de tous les objets curieux qui se présentent dans une grande capitale, et la conversation avec les plus grands hommes du siècle, m'ont instruit de beaucoup de choses que je n'aurois point trouvé dans les livres. Les sept ou huit derniers mois de cette année on été plus tranquilles. Dès que je me suis vu établi à Lausanne j'ai entrepris une étude suivie sur la géographie ancienne de l'Italie. Mon ardeur s'est très bien soutenue pendant six semaines jusqu'à la fin du mois de Juin. Ce fut alors qu'un voyage de Genève interrompit un peu mon assiduité, que le séjour de Mesery m'offrit mille distractions, et que la société de Saussure acheva de me faire perdre mon temps. Je repris mon travail avec ce Journal au milieu *d'Août*, et depuis ce temps, jusqu'au commencement de *Novembre*, j'ai mis a profit tous mes instans; j'avoue que pendant les deux derniers mois mon ardeur s'est un peu ralentie. Irement, Dans cette étude suivie j'ai lu: 1. Près de deux livres de la Géographie de *Strabon* sur l'Italie deux fois. 2. Une partie du deuxième livre de l'histoire naturelle de *Pline*. 3. Le quatrième chapitre du deuxième livre de *Pomponius Mela*. 4. Les Itinéraires d'Antonin, et de Jerusalem pour ce qui regarde l'Italie. Je les ai lus avec les Commentaires de Wesseling, &c. J'en ai tiré des tables de toutes les grandes routes de l'Italie, réduisant partout les milles Romains, en milles Anglois, et en lieues de France, selon les calculs de M. d'Anville. 5. L'Histoire des Grands Chemins de l'Empire Romain, par M. Bergier, deux volumes in 4°. 6. Quelques Extraits choisis de Ciceron, Tite Live, Velleius Paterculus, Tacite, et les deux Plines. La *Roma Vetus* de Nardini et plusieurs autres opuscules sur le même sujet qui composent presque tout le quatrième tome du Trésor des Antiquités Romaines de Grævius. 7. L'*Italia Antiqua* de Cluvier, en deux volumes in folio. 8. L'*Iter* ou le Voyage de Cl. Rutilius Numatianus dans les Gaules. 9. Les Catalogues de Virgile. 10. Celui de Silius Italicus. 11. Le Voyage d'Horace à Brundusium. N. B. J'ai lu deux fois ces trois derniers morceaux. 12. Le Traité sur les Mesures Itinéraires par M. d'Anville, et quelques Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles Lettres. IIment, On me fit attendre Nardini de la Bibliothéque de Geneve. Je voulus remplir ce moment de vide par la lecture de *Juvenal*, poëte que je ne connoissois encore que de réputation. Je l'ai lu deux fois avec plaisir et avec soin. IIIment, Pendant l'année j'ai lu quelques journaux, entre autres le Journal Etranger depuis son commencement, un tome des Nouvelles de Bayle, et les xxxv premiers volumes de la Bibliothéque raisonnée. IVment, J'ai beaucoup écrit de mon Recueil Géographique de l'Italie qui est déjà bien ample et assez curieux. Vment, Je ne dois pas oublier ce journal même qui est devenu un ouvrage; 414 pages en quatre mois et demi et des pages des mieux fournies sont un objet considérable. Aussi sans compter un grand nombre d'observations détachées, il s'y trouve des dissertations savantes et raisonnées. Celle du passage d'Annibal contient dix pages, et celle sur la guerre sociale en a douze. Mais ces morceaux sont trop étendus, et le journal même a besoin d'une refon-

ui lui retranche quantité de pièces qui ſont aſſez étrangères à ſon veritable lan Après avoir un peu réfléchi là deſſus, voici quelques règles que je ne ſuis faites ſur les objets qui lui conviennent. Iment, Toute ma vie vile et privée, mes amuſemens, mes liaiſons, mes écarts même, et toutes es réflexions qui ne roulent que ſur des ſujets qui me ſont perſonnels, e conviens que tout cela n'eſt intereſſant que pour moi, mais auſſi ce n'eſt ue pour moi que j'écris mon journal. IIment, Tout ce que j'apprens par obſervation ou la converſation. A l'égard de celle-ci je ne rapporterai que e que je tiens de perſonnes tout à la fois inſtruites et véridiques, lorſqu'il ſt queſtion de faits, ou du petit nombre de ceux qui méritent le titre de rand homme, s'il s'agit de ſentimens et d'opinions. IIIment, J'ai nettrai ſoigneuſement tout ce qu'on peut appeler la partie matérielle de es études; combien d'heures j'ai travaillé, combien de pages j'ai écrites u lues, avec une courte notice du ſujet qu'elles contenoient. IVment, Je rois fâché de lire ſans réfléchir ſur mes lectures, ſans porter des jugemens aiſonnés ſur mes auteurs, et ſans éplucher avec ſoin leurs idées et leurs xpreſſions. Mais toute lecture ne fournit pas également. Il y a des livres u'on parcourt, et il y en a qu'on lit; il y en a enfin qu'on doit étudier. es obſervations ſur ceux de la première claſſe ne peuvent qu'être courtes t détachées. Elles conviennent au journal. Celles qui regardent la econde claſſe n'y entreront qu'autant qu'elles auront le même caractère. Vment, Mes réflexions ſur ce petit nombre d'auteurs claſſiques, qu'on édite avec ſoin, ſeront naturellement plus approfondies et plus ſuivies. 'eſt pour elles, et pour des pièces plus étendues et plus originales, aux uelles la lecture ou la méditation peut donner lieu, que je ferai un ecueil ſéparé. Je conſerverai cependant ſa liaiſon avec le journal par des envois conſtans qui marqueront le numero de chaque pièce avec le temps et occaſion de ſa compoſition. Moyennant ces précautions mon journal ne aut que m'être utile. Ce compte exact de mon temps m'en fera mieux ntir le prix; il diſſipera par ſon détail, l'illuſion qu'on ſe fait d'inviſager ulement les années et les mois et de mépriſer les heures et les jours. Je e dis rien de l'agrément. C'en eſt un bien grand cependant de pouvoir paſſer chaque époque de ſa vie, et de ſe placer, dès qu'on le veut, au ilieu de toutes les petites ſcenes qu'on a joué, ou qu'on a vu jouer.

6 Avril 1764.] — J'ai été éveillé par Pavilliard et H**** pour arrêter ne facheuſe affaire qui s'étoit paſſée au bal après notre départ. G**** qui iſoit ſa cour a Mademoiſelle * **** depuis long temps, voyoit avec peine e ***** (******) menaçoit de le ſupplanter. Il ne répondoit jamais aux liteſſes de ſon rival, que par des bruſqueries; et à la fin à l'occaſion de la ain de Mademoiſelle ****** il s'emporta contre lui le plus mal à propos u monde, et le traita devant tout le monde *d'impertinent*, &c. J'ai appris Pavilliard que ****** lui avoit envoyé un cartel, et que la réponſe de *** ne l'ayant point contenté ils devoient ſe rencontrer à cinq heures du ir. Au déſeſpoir de voir mon ami engagé dans une affaire qui ne pouvoit e lui faire du tort, j'ai couru chez M. de Crouſaz où demeuroit *****. i bientôt vu qu'il ne lui falloit qu'une explication aſſez légère, jointe à

quelque apologie de la part de G*** pour le désarmer, et je suis retourné chez lui avec H**** pour l'engager à la donner. Nous lui avons fait comprendre que l'aveu d'une véritable tort ne blessoit jamais l'honneur, et que son insulte envers les dames aussi bien qu'envers **** étoit sans excuse. Je lui ai dicté un billet convenable, mais sans la moindre bassesse, que j'ai porté au Hollandois. Il a rendu les armes sur le champ, lui a fait la réponse la plus polie, et m'a remercié mille fois du rôle que j'avois fait. En vérité cet homme n'est pas difficile. Après dîner j'ai vu nos dames à qui j'ai porté une lettre d'excuses. La mère n'en veut plus a G***, mais Mademoiselle ***** est désolée du tort que cette affaire peut lui faire dans le monde. Cette négociation m'a pris le jour entier; mais peut-on mieux employer un jour qu'à sauver la vie, peut-être a deux personnes, et à conserver la réputation d'un ami? Au reste j'ai vu au fond plus d'un caractère. G*** est brave, vrai, et sensé, mais d'une impétuosité qui n'est que plus dangereuse pour être supprimée à l'ordinaire. C***** est d'une étourderie d'enfant. D. S**** d'une indifférence qui vient bien plus d'un défaut de sensibilité, que d'un excès de raison. J'ai conçu une véritable amitié pour H***. Il a beaucoup de raison et des sentimens d'honneur avec un cœur digne mieux placé.

[41] JOURNAL, Lausanne, Avril 17, 1764.] — Guise et moi, nous avons donné un dîner excellent et beaucoup de vin à Dupleix, et à beaucoup d'autres. Après dîner nous nous sommes échappés pour faire quelques visites aux ***, aux **, et aux ***. Je pars avec quelques regrets cependant un peu de vin, et une gaieté dont je ne pouvois rendre raison. m'ont rendu d'une étourderie sans pareille, vis-à-vis de ces petites. J leur ai dit cent folies, et nous nous sommes embrassés en riant. Mes nous a donné un très beau souper avec une partie de la compagnie du matin augmentée de Bourgeois et de Pavilliard. Ce souper, les adieux sur-tout Pavilliard, que j'aime véritablement, et les préparatifs du départ, m'ont occupé jusqu'à deux heures du matin.

Je quitte Lausanne avec moins de regret que la première fois. Je n'y laisse plus que des connoissances. C'étoit la maîtresse et l'ami dont je pleurois la perte. D'ailleurs je voyois Lausanne avec les yeux encore novices d'un jeune homme, qui lui devoit la partie raisonable de son existence, et qui jugeoit sans objets de comparaison. Aujourd'hui j'y vois une ville mal bâtie, au milieu d'un pays délicieux, qui jouit de la paix et du repos, et qui les prend pour la liberté. Un peuple nombreux et bien élevé, qui aime la société, qui y est propre, et qui admet avec plaisir les étrangers dans ses cotteries, qui seroient bien plus agréables, si la conversation n'avoit pas cédé la place au jeu. Les femmes sont jolies, et malgré leur grande liberté elles sont très sages. Tout au plus peuvent-elles être un peu complaisantes dans l'idée honnête, mais incertaine, de prendre une étranger dans leurs filets. L'affectation est le péché originel des Lausannois. Affectation de dépense, affectation de noblesse, affectation d'esprit: les deux premières sont fort répandues, pendant que la troisième est fort rare. Comme ce vice choque a tout instant avec celui des autres, Lausanne se trouve partagé

dans un grand nombre d'états, dont les principes et le langage varient à l'infini, et qui n'ont de commun que leur mépris réciproque les uns pour les autres. Leur goût pour la dépense s'accorde mal avec celui de la noblesse. Ils périroient plutôt que de renoncer a leurs grandeurs, ou d'embrasser la seule profession qui puisse les y soutenir. La maison de M. de Mesery est charmante: le caractère franc et généreux du Mari, les agrémens de la femme, une situation délicieuse, une chère excellente, la compagnie de ses compatriotes, et une liberté parfaite, font aimer ce séjour à tout Anglois. Que je voudrois en trouver un semblable à Londres! J'y regrette encore Holroyd, mais il nous suit de près.

[42] See Appendix, Letter, N°. XVII.

[43] JOURNAL, Florence, Août 9me, 1764.] — Cocchi à diné avec nous. Nous avons beaucoup causé, mais je ne lui trouve pas le genre qu'on lui attribue, c'est peut-être, parceque les nôtres ne sont pas analogues. J'entrevois de l'extravagance dans ses idées, de l'affectation dans ses manières. Il se plaint à tout moment de sa pauvreté. Il connoit peu la véritable dignité d'un homme de lettres. S'il a beaucoup de science, elle est bornée à la physique. Il m'a demandé si Lord Spenser ne pouvoit pas faire des évêques, et m'a fait un conte de Lord Lyttelton (dont il ne peut souffrir le fils) où il étoit question des Parlemens de Campagne.

[44] Now the church of the Zoccolants, or Franciscan Friars. S.

[45] The members were Lord Mountstuart (now Earl of Bute), Colonel Edmonstone, Weddal, Palgrave, Lord Berkley, Godfrey Clarke, Holroyd (Lord Sheffield), Major Ridley, Sir William Guize, Sir John Aubrey, Lord Abingdon, Hon. Peregrine Bertie, Cleaver, Hon. John Damer, Hon. George Damer (Lord Milton), Sir Thomas Gascoygne, Sir John Hort, E. Gibbon.

[46] Mr. Hume seems to have had a different opinion of this work.

From Mr. HUME *to* GIBBON.

SIR,

It is but a few days ago since M. Deyverdun put your manuscript into my hands, and I have perused it with great pleasure and satisfaction. I have only one objection, derived from the language in which it is written. Why do you compose in French, and carry faggots into the wood, as Horace says with regard to Romans who wrote in Greek? I grant that you have a like motive to those Romans, and adopt a language much more generally diffused than your native tongue: but have you not remarked the fate of those two ancient languages in following ages? The Latin, though then less celebrated, and confined to more narrow limits, has in some measure outlived the Greek, and is now more generally understood by men of letters. Let the French, therefore, triumph in the present diffusion of their tongue. Our solid and increasing establishments in America, where we need less dread the inundation of barbarians, promise a superior stability and duration to the English language.

Your use of the French tongue has also led you into a style more poetical and figurative, and more highly colored, than our language seems to admit

of in historical productions: for such is the practice of French writers, particularly the more recent ones, who illuminate their pictures more than custom will permit us. On the whole, your History, in my opinion, is written with spirit and judgment; and I exhort you very earnestly to continue it. The objections that occurred to me on reading it, were so frivolous, that I shall not trouble you with them, and should, I believe, have a difficulty to recollect them. I am, with great esteem,

SIR,

Your most obedient,
and most humble Servant,
(Signed) DAVID HUME.

LONDON,
24th of Oct. 1767.

47 He neglected to burn them. He left at Sheffield-Place the introduction, or first book, in forty-three pages folio, written in a very small hand, besides a considerable number of notes. If Mr. Gibbon had not declared his judgment, perhaps Mr. Hume's opinion, expressed in the letter in the last note, might have justified the publication of it. S.

48 The editor of the Warburtonian tracts, Dr. Parr, (p. 192.) considers the allegorical interpretation "as completely refuted in a most clear, "elegant, and decisive work of criticism; which could not, indeed, "derive authority from the greatest name; but to which the greatest name "might with propriety have been affixed."

49 The Divine Legation of Moses is a monument, already crumbling in the dust, of the vigor and weakness of the human mind. If Warburton's new argument proved any thing, it would be a demonstration against the legislator, who left his people without the knowledge of a future state. But some episodes of the work, on the Greek philosophy, the hieroglyphics of Egypt, &c. are entitled to the praise of learning, imagination, and discernment.

50 Like the first mortals, blest is he,
From debts, and usury, and business free,
With his own team who ploughs the soil,
Which grateful once confess'd his father's toil. FRANCIS.

51 From the mixed, though polite, company of Boodle's, White's, and Brooks's. I must honorably distinguish a weekly society, which was instituted in the year 1764, and which still continues to flourish, under the title of the Literary Club. (Hawkins's Life of Johnson, p. 415. Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides, p. 97.) The names of Dr. Johnson, Mr. Burke, Mr. Topham Beauclerck, Mr. Garrick, Dr. Goldsmith, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr. Colman, Sir William Jones, Dr. Percy, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Adam Smith, Mr. Steevens, Mr. Dunning, Sir Joseph Banks, Dr. Warton, and his brother Mr. Thomas Warton, Dr. Burney, &c. form a large and luminous constellation of British stars.

52 A French sketch of Mr. Gibbon's Life, written by himself, probably for the use of some foreign journalist or translator, contains no fact not

mentioned in his English Life. He there describes himself with his usual candor. Depuis huit ans il a assisté aux délibérations les plus importantes, mais il ne s'est jamais trouvé *le courage*, ni *le talent*, de parler dans une assemblée publique. This sketch was written before the publication of his three last volumes, as in closing it he says of his History: Cette entreprise lui demande encore plusieurs années d'une application soutenue; mais quelqu'en soit le succès, il trouve dans cette application même un plaisir toujours varié et toujours renaissant.

53 Of the voluminous writings of the Abbé de Mably, (see his Eloge by the Abbé Brizard,) the *Principes du droit public de l'Europe*, and the first part of the *Observations sur l'Histoire de France*, may be deservedly praised; and even the *Manière d'écrire l'Histoire* contains several useful precepts and judicious remarks. Mably was a lover of virtue and freedom; but his virtue was austere, and his freedom was impatient of an equal. Kings, magistrates, nobles, and successful writers, were the objects of his contempt, or hatred, or envy; but his illiberal abuse of Voltaire, Hume, Buffon, the Abbé Raynal, Dr. Robertson, and *tutti quanti*, can be injurious only to himself.

"Est il rien de plus fastidieux (says the polite Censor) qu'un M. Gibbon; "qui dans son éternelle Histoire des Empereurs Romains, suspend à "chaque instant son insipide et lente narration, pour vous expliquer la "cause de faits que vous allez lire." (Manière d'écrire l'Histoire, p. 184. See another passage, p. 280.) Yet I am indebted to the Abbé de Mably for two such advocates as the anonymous French Critic and my friend Mr. Hayley. (Hayley's Works, 8vo Edit. Vol. ii. p. 261—263.)

54 See Appendix, Letters, N° LXXXII. LXXXIII. and CXIV.

55 The stupendous title, *Thoughts on the Causes of the grand Apostacy*, at first agitated my nerves, till I discovered that it was the apostacy of the whole church, since the Council of Nice, from Mr. Taylor's private religion. His book is a thorough mixture of *high* enthusiasm and *low* buffoonery, and the Millennium is a fundamental article of his creed.

56 From his grammar-school at Kingston upon Hull, Mr. Joseph Milner pronounces an anathema against all rational religion. *His* faith is a divine taste, a spiritual inspiration; *his* church is a mystic and invisible body: the *natural* Christians, such as Mr. Locke, who believe and interpret the Scriptures, are, in his judgment, no better than profane infidels.

57 Astruc de la Structure du Cœur, tom. i. 77. 79. Appendix, Letter CXLIV.

58 Monthly Review, Oct. 1790.

59 Oeuvres de Beaumarchais, tom. iii. p. 299. 355.

60 I can never forget the delight with which that diffusive and ingenious orator, Mr. Burke, was heard by all sides of the house, and even by those whose existence he proscribed. (See Mr. Burke's speech on the Bill of Reform, p. 72—80.) The Lords of Trade blushed at their insignificancy, and Mr. Eden's appeal to the two thousand five hundred volumes of our Reports, served only to excite a general laugh. I take this opportunity of certifying the correctness of Mr. Burke's printed speeches, which I have heard and read.

[61] *From* EDWARD GIBBON esq. *to* —— esq.

DEAR SIR, 2d July 1779.

Yesterday I received a very interesting communication from my friend, whose kind and honorable behaviour towards me I must always remember with the highest gratitude. He informed me that, in consequence of an arrangement, a place at the Board of Trade was reserved for me, and that as soon as I signified my acceptance of it, he was satisfied no farther difficulties would arise. My answer to him was sincere and explicit. I told him that I was far from approving all the past measures of the administration, even some of those in which I myself had silently concurred; that I saw, with the rest of the world, many capital defects in the characters of some of the present ministers, and was sorry that in so alarming a situation of public affairs, the country had not the assistance of several able and honest men who are now in opposition. But that I had not formed with any of those persons in opposition any engagements or connexions which could in the least restrain or affect my parliamentary conduct; that I could not discover among them such superior advantages, either of measures or of abilities, as could make me consider it as a duty to attach myself to their cause; and that I clearly understood, from the public and private language of ——, one of their leaders, that in the actual state of the country, he himself was seriously of opinion that opposition could not tend to any good purpose, and might be productive of much mischief; that, for those reasons, I saw no objections which could prevent me from accepting an office under the present government, and that I was ready to take a step which I found to be consistent both with my interest and my honor.

It must now be decided, whether I may continue to live in England, or whether I must soon withdraw myself into a kind of philosophical exile in Switzerland. My father left his affairs in a state of embarrassment, and even of distress. My attempts to dispose of a part of my landed property have hitherto been disappointed, and are not likely at present to be more successful: and my plan of expense, though moderate in itself, deserves the name of extravagance, since it exceeds my real income. The addition of the salary which is now offered will make my situation perfectly easy; but I hope you will do me the justice to believe that my mind could not be so, unless I were satisfied of the rectitude of my own conduct.

[62] The borough which Mr. Gibbon had represented in parliament.

[63] *Extract from* M. GIBBON's *Common Place Book.*

Thomas Newton, Bishop of Bristol and Dean of St. Paul's, was born at Litchfield on the 21st of December 1703, O. S. (1st January 1704, N. S.), and died the 14th of February 1782, in the 79th year of his age. A few days before his death he finished the memoirs of his own life, which have been prefixed to an edition of his posthumous works, first published in quarto, and since (1787) re-published in six volumes octavo.

P. 173, 174. Some books were published in 1781, which employed some of the Bishop's leisure-hours, and during his illness. Mr. Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* he read throughout, but it by no means answered his expectation; for he found it rather a prolix and tedious performance, his matter uninteresting, and his style affected; his testimonies not to be depended upon, and his frequent scoffs at religion offensive to every sober mind. He had before been convicted of making false quotations, which should have taught him more prudence and caution. But, without examining his authorities, there is one which must necessarily strike every man who has read Dr. Burnet's Treatise *de Statû Mortuorum*. In vol. iii. p. 99. Mr. G. has the following note: — "Burnet (*de S. M.* "p. 56—84.) collects the opinions of the Fathers, as far as they assert "the sleep or repose of human souls till the day of judgment. He afterwards "exposes (p. 91.) the inconveniences which must arise if they possessed "a more active and sensible existence. Who would not from hence infer "that Dr. B. was an advocate for the sleep or insensible existence of the soul "after death? whereas his doctrine is directly the contrary. He has "employed some chapters in treating of the state of human souls in the "interval between death and the resurrection; and after various proofs "from reason, from scripture, and the Fathers, his conclusions are, "that human souls exist after their separation from the body, that they are "in a good or evil state according to their good or ill behaviour, but that "neither their happiness nor their misery will be complete or perfect "before the day of judgment. His argumentation is thus summed up at "the end of the 4th chapter — *Ex quibus constat primo, animas superesse "extincto corpore; secundo, bonas bene, malas male se habituras; tertio, "nec illis summam felicitatem, nec his summam miseriam, accessuram esse "ante diem judicii.*" (The Bishop's reading the whole was a greater compliment to the work than was paid to it by two of the most eminent of his brethren for their learning and station. The one entered upon it, but was soon wearied, and laid it aside in disgust: the other returned it upon the bookseller's hands; and it is said that Mr. G. himself happened unluckily to be in the shop at the same time.)

Does the Bishop comply with his own precept in the next page? (p. 175.) "Old age should lenify, should soften men's manners and make them more mild and gentle; but often has the contrary effect, hardens their hearts, and makes them more sour and crabbed." — He speaking of Dr. Johnson.

Have I ever insinuated that preferment-hunting is the great occupation of an ecclesiastical life? (Memoirs passim); that a minister's influence and bishop's patronage are sometimes pledged eleven deep? (p. 151.) that a prebendary considers the audit-week as the better part of the year? (p. 127.) or that the most eminent of priests, the pope himself, would change their religion, if any thing better could be offered them? (p. 56.) Such things are more than insinuated in the Bishop's Life, which afforded some scandal to the church, and some diversion to the profane laity.

[64] It may not be generally known that Louis the Sixteenth is a great reader, and a reader of English books. On perusing a passage of my History which seems to compare him to Arcadius or Honorius, he expressed his resentment to the Prince of B*****, from whom the intelligence was conveyed to me. I shall neither disclaim the allusion, nor examine the likeness; but the situation of the late King of France excludes all suspicion of flattery; and I am ready to declare that the concluding observations of my third volume were written before his accession to the throne.

[65] Sir Richard Worsley, Lord Chesterfield, Broderic Lord Midleton, and Mr. Hume, brother to Sir Abraham.

[66] See Appendix, Letters, N° CL. CLI. CLII. CLIII. CLIV. CLV. CLIX.

[67] Ibid. Letter, N° CLXXVI.

[68] Ibid. Letters, N° CLXXI. CLXXVI.

[69] Mémoires Secrets de la Cour de Berlin.

[70] See Letter in the Continuation, October 1, 1788.

[71] See preface to the Life of Mahomet, p. 10, 11.

[72] I have followed the judicious precept of the Abbé de Mably, (Manière d'écrire l'Histoire, p. 110.) who advises the historian not to dwell too minutely on the decay of the eastern empire; but to consider the barbarian conquerors as a more worthy subject of his narrative. "Fas est et ab "hoste doceri."

[73] *Extract from* Mr. GIBBON's *Common-place Book.*

The IVth Volume of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, - -	begun March 1st, 1782——ended June 1784.
The Vth Volume, - -	begun July 1784——ended May 1st, 1786.
The VIth Volume, -	begun May 18th, 1786——ended June 27th, 1787.

These three volumes were sent to press August 15th; 1787, and the whole impression was concluded April following.

[74] Observations on the Commerce of the American States, by John Lord Sheffield, the 6th edition, London, 1784, in octavo.

[75] He said the facts that made up the volume of narrative were unparalleled in atrociousness, and that nothing equal in criminality was to be traced, either in ancient or modern history, in the correct periods of Tacitus or the luminous page of Gibbon. *Morning Chronicle, June* 14, 1788.

[76] OCCASIONAL STANZAS, *by* Mr. HAYLEY, *read after the Dinner at* Mr. CADELL's, *May* 8, 1788; *being the Day of the Publication of the Three Last Volumes of* Mr. GIBBON's *History, and his Birth-day.*

GENII of ENGLAND, and of ROME!
In mutual triumph here assume
The honors each may claim!

This ſocial ſcene with ſmiles ſurvey!
And conſecrate the feſtive day
To Friendſhip and to Fame!

Enough, by Deſolation's tide,
With anguiſh, and indignant pride,
Has ROME bewail'd her fate;
And mourn'd that Time, in Havoc's hour,
Defac'd each monument, of power
To ſpeak her truly great:

O'er maim'd POLYBIUS, juſt and ſage,
O'er LIVY'S mutilated page,
How deep was her regret!
Touch'd by this Queen, in ruin grand,
See! Glory, by an Engliſh hand,
Now pays a mighty debt:

Lo! ſacred to the ROMAN Name,
And rais'd, like ROME'S immortal Fame,
By Genius and by Toil,
The ſplendid Work is crown'd to-day,
On which Oblivion ne'er ſhall prey,
Nor Envy make her ſpoil!

ENGLAND, exult! and view not now
With jealous glance each nation's brow,
Where Hiſt'ry's palm has ſpread!
In every path of liberal art,
Thy Sons to prime diſtinction ſtart,
And no ſuperior dread.

Science for Thee a NEWTON rais'd;
For thy renown a SHAKESPEARE blaz'd,
Lord of the drama's ſphere!
In different fields to equal praiſe
See Hiſtr'y now thy GIBBON raiſe
To ſhine without a peer!

Eager to honor living worth,
And bleſs to-day the double birth,
That proudeſt joy may claim,
Let artleſs Truth this homage pay,
And conſecrate the feſtive day
To Friendſhip and to Fame!

77 SONNET *to* EDWARD GIBBON esq.

On the Publication of his Second and Third Volumes, 1781.

WITH proud delight th' imperial founder gaz'd
On the new beauty of his second Rome,
When on his eager eye rich temples blaz'd,
And his fair city rose in youthful bloom:
A pride more noble may thy heart assume,
O GIBBON! gazing on thy growing work,
In which, constructed for a happier doom,
No hasty marks of vain ambition lurk:
Thou may'st deride both Time's destructive sway,
And baser Envy's beauty mangling dirk;
Thy gorgeous fabric, plann'd with wise delay,
Shall baffle foes more savage than the Turk;
As ages multiply, its fame shall rise,
And earth must perish ere its splendor dies.

HAYLEY's *Works*, 8vo edit. vol. i. p. 161.

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78 *A* CARD *of* INVITATION *to* Mr. GIBBON *at Brighthelmstone*, 1781.

AN English sparrow, pert and free,
Who chirps beneath his native tree,
Hearing the Roman eagle's near,
And feeling more respect than fear,
Thus, with united love and awe,
Invites him to his shed of straw.
Tho' he is but a twittering sparrow,
The field he hops is rather narrow,
When nobler plumes attract his view
He ever pays them homage due,
He looks with reverential wonder
On him, whose talons bear the thunder;
Nor could the Jackdaws e'er inveigle
His voice to vilify the eagle,
Tho' issuing from the holy tow'rs,
In which they build their warmest bow'rs,
Their sovereign's haunt they slyly search,
In hopes to catch him on his perch,
(For Pindar says, beside his God
The thunder-bearing bird will nod,)
Then, peeping round his still retreat,
They pick from underneath his feet

Some

Some molted feather he lets fall,
And ſwears he cannot fly at all. —
Lord of the ſky! whoſe pounce can tear
Theſe croakers, that infeſt the air,
Truſt him! the ſparrow loves to ſing
The praiſe of thy imperial wing!
He thinks thou'lt deem him, on his word,
An honeſt, though familiar bird;
And hopes thou ſoon wilt condeſcend
To look upon thy little friend;
That he may boaſt around his grove
A viſit from the bird of Jove.

HAYLEY's *Works*, vol. i. p. 189.

[p] See his preface, page 28. 32.

[q] Vol. iv. part 1. page 342. 344.

[r] Of their fourteen octavo volumes the two laſt include the whole body the notes. The public importunity had forced *me* to remove them from end of the volume to the bottom of the page; but I have often repented my compliance.

[s] M. Wilhelm. de Severy.

[t] The family of de Severy.

[u] See Buffon, Supplément à l'Hiſtoire naturelle, tom. vii. page 158— of a given number of new-born infants, one half, by the fault of ture or man, is extinguished before the age of puberty and reaſon. — A lancholy calculation!

[x] Mr. d'Alembert relates, that as he was walking in the gardens of s Souci with the King of Pruſſia, Frederic ſaid to him, "Do you ſee that old woman, a poor weeder, aſleep on that ſunny bank? he is probably a more happy being than either of us." The king and philoſopher may ſpeak for themſelves; for my part I do not envy the woman.

[y] In the firſt of ancient or modern romances (Tom Jones), this proud timent, this feaſt of fancy, is enjoyed by the genius of Fielding. — Come, bright love of fame, &c. fill my ravished fancy with the hopes of charming ages yet to come. Foretel me that ſome tender maid, whoſe grand-mother is yet unborn, hereafter, when, under the fictitious ame of Sophia, she reads the real worth which once exiſted in my Charlotte, shall from her ſympathetic breaſt ſend forth the heaving ſigh. Do thou teach me not only to foreſee but to enjoy, nay even to feed on ture praiſe. Comfort me by the ſolemn aſſurance, that, when the ttle parlour in which I ſit at this moment shall be reduced to a worſe urnished box, I shall be read with honor by thoſe who never knew nor w me, and whom I shall neither know nor ſee." Book xiii ch. 1.

[z] Mr. Buffon, from our diſregard of the poſſibility of death within the -and-twenty-hours, concludes that a chance, which falls below or above ten thouſand to one, will never affect the hopes or fears of a

reasonable man. The fact is true, but our courage is the effect of thoughtlessness, rather than of reflection. If a public lottery were drawn for the choice of an immediate victim, and if our name were inscribed on one of the ten thousand tickets, should we be perfectly easy?

[88] See Buffon.

[89] Alluding to Sheffield-Place.

[90] His portrait.

[91] Observations on the Project for abolishing the Slave-Trade, by Lord Sheffield.

[92] Maréchal de Castries and several branches of his family, Duc de Guignes and daughters, Duc and Ducheſſe de Guiche, Madame de Grammont, Princeſſe d'Henin, Princeſſe de Bouillon, Ducheſſe de Biron, Prince de Salms, Comte de Schomberg, M. Lally Tolendal, M. de Mounier, Madame d'Agueſſeau and family, M. de Malzherbes, &c. &c.

[93] The remainder of the letter was dictated by Mr. Gibbon, and written by M. Wilh. de Severy. S.

[94] A commiſſion, at the head of which was Monſieur Fiſcher, one of the principal members of the government of Berne, a very active and intelligent man, who would have diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the adminiſtration of any country. This commiſſion, which was accompanied by two or three thouſand of the beſt of the German militia of the Canton of Berne, was ſent for the purpoſe of examining into ſome attempts to introduce the French revolutionary principles into the Pays de Vaud. Several perſons were ſeized; the greater part were releaſed; the examination was ſecret, but Roſſet and La Motte were confined in the caſtle of Chillon; and being afterwards condemned, for correſpondence with the French, to a long impriſonment, were transferred to the caſtle of Arbourg. S.

[95] Madame de Silva.

[96] The apartment principally inhabited during the reſidence of the family at Lauſanne. S.

[97] It would be more correct if he had ſaid, my preference of land.

[98] Berne.

[99] His letters to me for a certain period, which he deſired me to ſend, to aſſiſt him in writing his Memoirs. S.

[102] Miſs Holroyd.

[103] Meaning Sheffield-Place.

[104] Mr. Gibbon alludes to letters written to him by Miſs Holroyd, while she was returning from Switzerland, along the Rhine, to England.

[105] The Anſwer to Mr. Gibbon's Letter which follows, gives the account I have ſeen of the barbarous tranſaction alluded to. S.

SHEFFIELD-PLACE, November 1[illegible]

"YOUR three letters received yeſterday cauſed the moſt ſincere pleaſ[illegible] to each individual of this family; to none more than myſelf. Praiſe, I fear, beyond my deſerts,) from one whoſe opinion I ſo highly value, whoſe eſteem I ſo much wish to preſerve, is more pleaſing than I

describe. I had not neglected to make the collection of facts which you recommend, and which the great variety of unfortunate persons whom we see, or with whom we correspond, enables me to make.

" As to that part of your letter which respects *my studies*, I can only say, the slightest hint on that subject is always received with the greatest gratitude, and attended to with the utmost punctuality; but I must decline that topic for the present, to obey your commands, which require from me the horrid account of the *massacre aux Carmes*. — Eight respectable ecclesiastics landed, about the beginning of October, from an open boat at Seaford, wet as the waves. The natives of the coast were endeavouring to get from them what they had not, (viz.) money, when a gentleman of the neighbourhood came to their protection; and, finding they had nothing, showed his good sense, by dispatching them to Milord Sheffield: they had been pillaged, and with great difficulty had escaped from Paris. The reception they met with at this house, seemed to make the greatest impression on them; they were in extacy on finding M. de Lally living: they gradually became cheerful, and enjoyed their dinner: they were greatly affected as they recollected themselves, and found us attending on them. Having dined, and drank a glass of wine, they began to discover the beauties of the dining-room, and of the chateau: as they walked about, they were overheard to express their admiration at the treatment they met, and *from Protestants*. We then assembled in the library, formed half a circle round the fire, M. de Lally and Milord occupying the hearth *l'Angloise*, and questioning the priests concerning their escape. Thus we discovered, that two of these unfortunate men were in the Carmelite convent at the time of the massacre of the one hundred and twenty priests, and had most miraculously escaped, by climbing trees in the garden, and from thence over the tops of the buildings. One of them, a man of superior appearance, described, in the most pathetic manner, the death of the archbishop of Arles, (and with such simplicity and feeling, as to leave no doubt of the truth of all that he said,) to the following purport. — On the second of September, about five o'clock in the evening, at the time they were permitted to walk in the garden, expecting every hour to be released, they expressed their surprise at seeing several large pits, which had been digging for two days past: they said, the day is almost spent; and yet Manuel told a person who interceded for us last Thursday, that on the Sunday following not one should remain in captivity: we are still prisoners: soon after, they heard shouts, and some musquet-shots. An assign of the national guard, some commissaries of the sections, and some marseillois rushed in: the miserable victims, who were dispersed in the garden, assembled under the walls of the church, not daring to go in, lest it should be polluted with blood. One man, who was behind the rest, was shot. '*Point de coup de fusil*,' cried one of the chiefs of the assassins, thinking that kind of death too easy. These well-trained fusileers went to the rear; les piques, les haches, les poignards came forward. They commanded the Archbishop of Arles; he was immediately surrounded by

all the priests. The worthy prelate said to his friends, 'Let me pass; if my blood will appease them, what signifies it, if I die? Is it not my duty to preserve your lives at the expense of my own?' He asked the eldest of the priests to give him absolution: he knelt to receive it; and when he arose, forced himself from them, advanced slowly, and with his arms crossed upon his breast, and his eyes raised to heaven, said to the assassins, 'I *suis celui que vous cherchez.*' His appearance was so dignified and noble that, during ten minutes, not one of these wretches had courage to lift his hand against him: they upbraided each other with cowardice, and advanced; one look from this venerable man struck them with awe, and they retired. At last, one of the miscreants struck off the cap of the Archbishop with a pike; respect once violated, their fury returned, and another from behind cut him through the skull with a sabre. He raised his right hand to his eyes; with another stroke they cut off his hand. The Archbishop said, *O! mon Dieu!* and raised the other: a third stroke across the face left him sitting; the fourth extended him lifeless on the ground; and then all pressed forward, and buried their pikes and pointed in the body. The priests all agreed, that he had been one of the most amiable men in France; and that his only *crime* was, having, since the revolution, expended his private fortune, to support the necessitous clergy of his diocese. The second victim was the General des Benedictins. Then the national guards obliged the priests to go into the church, telling them, they should appear, one after another, before the Commissaires de section. They had hardly entered, before the people impatiently called for them; upon which, all kneeling before the altar, the Bishop of Beauvais gave them absolution: they were then obliged to go out, two by two; they passed before a commissaire, who did not question, but only counted, his victims; they had in their sight the heaps of dead, to which they were going to add. Among the one hundred and twenty priests thus sacrificed, were the Bishops of Zaintes and Beauvais (both of the Rochefoucauld family). I should not omit to remark, that one of the priests observed they were assassinated, because they would not swear to the constitution which their murderers had destroyed. We had (to comfort us for this melancholy story) the most grateful expressions of gratitude towards the English nation, from whom they did not do us the justice to expect such a reception.

"There can be no doubt that the whole business of the massacres was concerted at a meeting at the Duke of Orleans's house. I shall make you as dismal as myself by this narration. I must change the style." * * *

[106] A considerable town between Lausanne and Geneva.

[107] Quâ tamen usque potest, vires sibi demere tentat.
Nec, quo centimanum dejecerat igne Typhœa,
Nunc armatur eo: nimiùm feritatis in illo.
Est aliud levius fulmen; cui dextra Cyclopum
Sævitiæ, flammæque minus, minus addidit iræ:
Tela secunda vocant Superi.

108 Lord Loughborough.

109 The death of Lady Sheffield.

110 She was then in her eightieth year. S.

111 Three quarts of the ſame fluid as before were diſcharged.

112 Eden-Farm.

113 The body was not opened till the fifth day after his death. It was then ſound, except that a degree of mortification, not very conſiderable, had taken place on a part of the *colon*; which, with the whole of the *omentum*, of a very enlarged ſize, had deſcended into the *ſcrotum*, forming a bag that hung down nearly as low as the knee. Since that part had been inflamed and ulcerated, Mr. Gibbon could not bear a truſs; and when the laſt ſix quarts of fluid were diſcharged, the *colon* and *omentum* deſcending lower, they, by their weight, drew the lower mouth of the ſtomach downwards to the *os pubis*, and this probably was the immediate cauſe of his death.

The following is the account of the appearance of the body, given by an eminent ſurgeon who opened it:

"Aperto tumore, qui ab inguine uſque ad genu ſe extenderat, obſerva-" tum eſt partem ejus inferiorem conſtare ex tunicâ vaginali teſtis con-" tinenti duas quaſi libras liquoris ſeroſi tincti ſanguine. Ea autem fuit " ſacci illius amplitudo ut portioni liquoris longè majori capiendæ " ſufficeret. In poſteriori parte hujus ſacci teſtis ſitus fuit. Hunc omninò " ſanum invenimus.

"" Partem tumoris ſuperiorem occupaverant integrum ferè omentum " et major pars inteſtini coli. Hæ partes, ſacco ſibi proprio incluſæ, ſibi " invicem et ſacco ſuo adeò arctè adhæſerunt ut coïviſſe viderentur in " maſſam unam ſolidam et irregularem; cujus a tergo chorda ſpermatica " ſedem ſuam obtinuerat.

"In omento et in inteſtino colo haud dubia recentis inflammationis " ſigna vidimus, necnon maculas nonnullas lividi coloris hinc inde " ſparſas.

"Aperto abdomine, ventriculum invenimus a naturali ſuo ſitu " detractum uſque ad annulum muſculi obliqui externi. Pyiorum " retrorſùm et quaſi ſurſùm a duodeno retractum. In hepate ingentem " numerum parvorum tuberculorum. Veſicam felleam bile admodùm " diſtentam. In cæteris viſceribus, examini anatomico ſubjectis, nulla " morbi veſtigia extiterunt."

Notes to the ſecond Volume.

[1] Tacit. Annal. vi. c. 10. Flor. Hiſt. Rom. L. iv. c. 12. T. Liv. Epitom. L. c.
[2] Horat. Art. Poet. v. 55.
[3] Ibid. v. 366.
[4] Tacit. ubi ſupra.
[5] Sueton. L. i. c. 79.
[6] Vell. Paterculus, L. ii. c. 89.
[7] Sueton. L. ii. c. 29.
[8] Ibid. c. 52. Vell. Patercul. L. ii. c. 89.
[9] Juſtin. L. xxx. c. 1.
[10] Tit. Liv. Epitom. L. iv. Eutrop. L. ii. Valer. Maxim. L. iv. c. 3.
[11] Tit. Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 34. 39, 40.
[12] Bayle Dictionnaire Critique, art. Catulle.
[13] Vid. Catul. Carm. xi. &c.
[14] Tacit. in Vit. Agricol. C. 13.
[15] Cæſar. Comm. L. iv. Dion. Hiſt. L. xxxix. p. 113.
[16] Catull. Carm. cxi.
[17] Idem, lii.
[18] Idem, xxvii. ver. 29.
[19] Cependant ſi l'on avoit la curioſité de rechercher l'époque préciſe de la compoſition de cette épigramme, un paſſage de Cicéron nous conduiroit à la fixer vers l'an 708. Car quoiqu'en diſe Bayle, on ne peut guères entendre ce paſſage que d'une pièce ſatyrique faite contre Mamurra; auſſi bien le ſavant Dr. Middleton a-t'il embraſſé cette opinion. Il eſt inutile de dire que Catulle n'auroit jamais oſé compoſer cette épigramme contre Céſar alors tout puiſſant. La clémence de Céſar envers ſes ennemis étoit aſſez connue; la façon même, dont les anciens parlent de la modération dont Céſar uſa envers le ſatyrique, ſemble ſuppoſer qu'il avoit alors la puiſſance en main, puiſqu'auparavant ſa clémence auroit eu peu de mérite. Tacite (*) qui en parle, la fait conſidérer ſur le même pied que celle de Bibalculus. Or on ne peut pas douter qu'Auguſte ne fut ſouverain alors.
[20] Ovid. Eleg. L. iii. 9.
[21] V. Tibull. Carm. L. iv. c. 15.
[22] Donat. in Vit. Virgil.
[23] Sueton. L. i c. 55. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Latin. L. i. c. 24.
[24] Catull. Carm. i.
[25] Cornel. Nepos, in Vit. Attici, c. 12.
[26] Idem, c. 18.
[27] Idem, c. 21.
[28] Sueton. L. ii. c. 37.
[29] Bentl. in Præfat. Edit. Horatian.
[30] Catull Carm. xxxiv. ver. 1.

(*) Annal. L. iv. c. 34.

[31] Horat. Carm. Secular. ver. 34.

[32] V. Differtat. Cl. Turretin de Ludis Secular. p. 36.

[33] Lucret. de Rer. Natur. L. iii. ver. 5. *et ſeq.*

[34] Horat. de Art. Poet. ver. 59.

[35] Cette explication eſt d'autant plus vraiſemblable, que dans ſes ouvrages, Virgile s'eſt plutôt piqué de faire revivre de vieux mots, que d'en emprunter de nouveaux du Grec. Je doute même qu'on puiſſe trouver un ſeul endroit où il ait ſuivi le conſeil d'Horace.

[36] Suet. L. ii. c. 34.

[37] Tacit. Annal. ii. c. 37.

[38] Dion. Hiſt. Rom. L. lvi. p. 570.

[39] Horat. Carm. Secular. v. 17, &c. Torrent. de Lege Juliâ ad Cale. Horat. p. 75, &c.

[40] Herodot. L. ii. Newton Chronol. Emendat. p. 41.

[41] Vid. Vitam Horat. ſine nomine Autoris.

[42] Suet. L. ii. c. 70.

[43] Bentley in Præfat. ad Horat.

[44] Horat. Serm. L. i. Serm. iii. ver. 124.

[45] Cicero pro Murena, c. 29. De la Mothe le Vayer, tom. i. p. 606, &c. de la Vertu des Payens.

[46] Plin. L. vi. Epiſt. 20.

[47] Vell. Paterc. L. ii. c. 125.

[48] V. Burman ad Vell. Paterc. L. ii. c. 97. Perizon. ad Sanct. Minerv. L. i. c. 15. n. 4.

[49] Vell. Paterc. L. ii. c. 97.

[50] Tacit. Annal. i. c. 24, &c.

[51] This Letter is a curious ſpecimen of the degree in which Mr. Gibbon had loſt the English language in a short time.

[52] This attitude continued to be characteriſtic to Mr. Gibbon

[53] Tutor to Mr. Gibbon when he firſt went to Magdalen-College, Oxford.

[54] The ſociety of young ladies mentioned in the Memoirs.

[55] The name was ſo ſpelt in the newſpapers.

[56] The motto of the regiment called Royal Foreſters, in which Mr. Holroyd had been Captain.

[57] The name by which the child called himſelf.

[58] Where Mr. Holroyd's family paſſed a winter.

[59] The Roman Club.

[60] Miſs Cambridges.

[61] His houſekeeper.

[62] Mr. and Mrs. Holroyd made a tour to Ireland and Scotland this ſummer.

[63] Dr. Downes.

[64] Mrs. Gibbon's reſidence at Bath.

[65] Mr. Hume.

[66] Mr. Hume died at Edinburgh, Auguſt 25, 1776.

[67] The Honorable General Simon Fraſer.

[68] Mr. Gibbon at this time attended Dr. Hunter's Anatomical Lectures.

[69] Mr. Holroyd was then in quarters at Brighthelmſtone.

[70] The Title of the Pamphlet — *Anticipation.*

[71] The portrait, one of the beſt of Sir Joshua's, is in the library at Sheffield-Place.

[72] With the Suſſex-Militia, of which Mr. Holroyd was Major.

[73] His appointment as Lord of Trade.

[74] At Abergavenny.

[75] Colonel Holroyd at that time was raiſing a regiment of Light Dragoons.

[76] Lord Mansfield.

[77] Commanded by Colonel Holroyd.

[78] The Sheriffs of Coventry.

[79] Second and third volumes of the Decline and Fall.

[80] Lord John Cavendish.

[81] Chancellor of the Exchequer.

[82] Lord North.

[83] Lord North, while his houſe was repairing, inhabited Lord Sheffield's in Downing-ſtreet.

[84] American commerce.

[85] Lord Sheffield's Obſervations on the Commerce of the American States.

[86] His dog.

[87] The North-Eaſt wind.

[88] Obſervations on the Commerce with the American States.

[89] A ſelect Committee for inquiring into frauds committed in reſpect to the revenue.

[90] Eaſt India Company.

[91] This ſuppoſition was founded on Mr. Banks's declaration in the name of Mr. Pitt.

[92] At the St. Alban's Tavern.

[93] Of Obſervations on the Commerce with the American States.

[94] Alluding to his portrait.

[95] Obſervations on the Commerce with the American States.

[96] Now Madame de Stael.

[97] The Honorable Mrs. Fraſer.

[98] His portrait, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

[99] His aunt, Mrs. Catherine Porten.

[100] A miſtake — Lord Sheffield did not PUBLISH any tract on French Commerce.

[101] M. Wilhel. de Severy

[102] Lady Sheffield's lap-dog.

[103] Mr. Gibbon ſoon became tired of this plan, and expreſſed a wish it had not been mentioned. He ſaid his Hiſtory was a critical review of the authors he had uſed. S.

[104] A beautiful villa near the lake, about a mile from Lauſanne.

[105] A town between Lauſanne and Geneva, where M. Necker then reſided.

Note to the preface of the third Volume.

* His attention to Geography had always been very great, and few were better informed in that ſcience. His friend Major Rennell was of that opinion, and I cannot cite a higher authority.

Notes to the Extraits Raiſonnés.

[1] Plinii Secundi Epiſt. lib. vii. epiſt. ix.

[2] Je médite une hiſtoire de l'expédition de Charles VIII. en Italie; événement qui changea la face de l'Europe. Si je l'écris jamais, ces recherches doivent y entrer, mais plus travaillées et moins longues. Pour préſent, les livres et le loiſir me manquent également. C'eſt pourquoi, ne pouvant alléguer les hiſtoriens originaux, j'aime mieux m'en rapporter à la notoriété des faits que de renvoyer aux compilations.

[3] V. la Grande Hiſtoire du P. Daniel, tome v. p. 196 et p. 259.

[4] Voici un exemple où il s'agit du même raiſonnement. Le chevalier Raleigh fut condamné à mort pour crime de haute trahiſon. Après pluſieurs années de priſon, le roi Jacques I. lui donna le commandement d'une escadre deſtinée à exploiter une mine d'or dans l'Amérique Méridionale. L'entrepriſe manqua; et à ſon retour Jacques I. fit couper la tête au chevalier Raleigh ſur l'ancienne ſentence. La nation en murmura hautement, et diſoit que cette commiſſion d'admiral valoit bien des lettres d'abolition; puis qu'on ne pouvoit donner cette autorité et cette confiance à un traître qu'on deſtinoit à la mort †.

[5] Cette queſtion tient aux mêmes principes que celle de l'adoption que j'examinerai bientôt.

[6] Elle a fait un grand bruit il y à un demi ſiècle, à l'occaſion de la ſucceſſion d'Eſpagne, à laquelle Louis XIV. renonça dans le traité des Pyrenées, que ſa famille revendiqua dans la ſuite.

[7] On lit quelquefois dans les vieilles chartres, Ego — baſtardus; il prenoit un ſurnom. Du temps de Philippe de Comines, on faiſoit très-peu de différence en Italie entre les enfans légitimes et ceux qui ne l'étoient pas. Mém. de Philippe de Com. l. vii. c. 2.

[8] Guillaume le Conquérant, dans le XI. ſiècle; Henri de Traſtamare, Jean Grand Maître de l'ordre d'Avis, tous les deux dans le XIV. ces trois monarques étoient tous bâtards.

[9] Voyez la conduite équivoque de Louis IX. Il blâmoit la ſévérité du pape, il tâchoit de faire la paix: mais ce concile de Lyon étoit toujours pour lui un tribunal dont Fréderic ne pouvoit appeler.

[10] Hainault, Abrégé Chronol. de l'Hiſt. de France, p. 617.

[11] Dans mes compilations le conſentement des états à cette adoption ne paroiſſoit point. C'étoit cependant une circonſtance très-eſſentielle. Mais j'en ai vu depuis, que l'exact Giannone n'en dit rien non plus.

† V. Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, tome vii. p. 122; et Hume, Hiſt. of the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 74. Howell's Letters, vol. i. ſ. 1. lett. iv.

12 V. Plin. Secund. Epiſt. Lib. v. Ep. viii.

13 When Marius, proſcribed by the party of Sylla, was obliged, afte a thouſand dangers, to take refuge on the coaſt of Africa, the prætor o that province ſent him an order to leave it immediately: the lictor foun him plunged in thought, and ſitting on ſome ſtones on the beach Whe he asked him what anſwer he ſhould carry back to the prætor, "Tell him, (replied Marius,) that thou haſt ſeen Marius ſitting upon the ruins o Carthage." This implied compariſon between his fall, and that of a onc powerful city, diſplayed on the ſame ſpot, is poetically bold. Yet paſſio and real misfortune, joined to the coincidency of place, could ſuggeſt i to Marius, a rough illiterate ſoldier. Is not this a ſtriking illuſtration o Mr. Hurd's theory?

14 In the Odyſſey. As to the Iliad, properly ſpeaking, he has follow neither. The events previous to the ſubject, the anger of Achilles, h neither relates himſelf, nor throws into an epiſode; but as they were fr and ſimple, he leaves the reader to collect them from occaſional hint diſperſed through the poem.

15 When Antenor, in the third Iliad, points out to Priam, Ulyſſ among the Grecian chiefs, he deſcribes the nature of his eloquence:

Αλλ' ὁτε δὴ πολυμητις αναϊξειεν Οδυσσευς
Στασκεν, υπαι δε ιδεσκε καϊα χθονος ομματα πηξας;
Σκηπτρον δ' ουτ' οπισω, ουτε προπρηνες, ενωμα,
Αλλ' ασεμφες εχεσκεν, αϊνδρει Φωτι εοικως·
Φαιης κεν ζακοτον τινα εμμεναι, αφρονα θ' ἀυτως.
Αλλ' ὁτε δη ῥ' οπα τε μεγαλην εκ στηθεος ἱει,
Και επεα, νιφαδεσσιν ἐοικοτα χειμεριησιν,
Ουκ αν επειτ' Οδυσηϊ γ' ερισσειε βροτος αλλος.

Iliad iii. v. 216—22

Out of the ſeveral teſtimonies to the eloquence of Ulyſſes, collected Dr. Clarke, I ſhall only ſubjoin that of Quintillian: "Sed ſumma "adgreſſus, (*Homerus*) ut in Ulyſſe facundiam, magnitudinem i "junxit; cui orationem nivibus hybernis, et copia verborum, atq "impetu parem tribuit. Cum hoc igitur nemo mortalium contendet."

Quintil. xii. C.

16 Lord Bacon, and Mr. Hurd himſelf, (vol. ii. p. 160—162.) agr that poetry is an imitation of hiſtory, deviating however from it, fo to anſwer the above-mentioned ends.

17 V. Nouvelle Méthode, l. iii. c. 16. Reg. 52. p. 182.

18 Ibid. Except. 3. p. 183.

19 Οι πρωες εκεινον. LONGIN. περι υψους, p. 32. Edit. To

20 Longin. C. xxvi. p. 152.

21 Id. C. xxiii. p. 144.

22 Id. C. xxii. p. 142. notaſq. Toll. in loc.

23 V. Journal, Auguſt 25 and 26, 1761.

24 At the end of the ſecond volume of the Life of Mr. Dodw *London*, 1715.

25 It was the first after the *Bissextile.*
26 If he reckons by years before Christ, the reduction would be very easy.
27 Vit. Homer, p. 315 — 318.
28 Id. p. 360.
29 Id p 324.
30 Id. p. 352 — 354.
31 Id. p 325 — 530.
32 Id. p. 342.
33 Id. p. 358 — 360.
34 Id. p. 303.
35 Id. p. 371 — 377.
36 Id. p. 359.
37 Constant. in Voc. Jul. Poll. Onomastic. l. v. c. 15. p. 92.

Notes to the Extracts from the Journal.

1 V. Plin. Epist. L. ii. Ep. 6.
2 La traduction paroit l'emporter sur l'original.
3 V. M. de Tillemont Hist. des Empereurs, tom. ii. p. 39 — edit. fol.
4 Juvenal Satir. vi. v. 655.
5 J'entends de ses contemporains.
6 Sat. xv. v. 1 — 14.
7 Id. ibid. 129 — 158.
8 Bello fecunda secundo.
9 Juvenal. Satir. iii. 197 — 202.
10 Il faut se souvenir combien les Seigneurs Romains avoient d'esclaves.
11 V. sur toute question, *Lipsi. ad Tacit. Annal. xv. Nardini Roma etus, L. iii. C. iv. p. 985, 986, 987: et Grav. in Præfat. ad tom. iv. Thesaur. Antiq. Roman.* Je me sers de toutes leurs citations.
12 T. Liv. ix. 46.
13 *Post Capitolinam*, selon l'édition de Daléchamp. Je voudrois voir elle de Hardouin. Nardini lit *post capitolium*, leçon qui me paroit très-utive. Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xxxiii. 1.
14 Plutarch. in Camill.
15 Il y renvoye lui-même, V. L. v. C. x. p. 1208.
16 Cic. ad Attic. xiii. 33.
17 Cicero pro lege Manilia, C. xxii, xxiii.
18 Bergier Hist. des Grands Chemins de l'Empire, L. i. C. xxi. p. 77—80.
19 Traité des Mesures Itinéraires, par M. d'Anville, p. 59.
20 Par rapport à la largeur du cirque, Pline lui-même confirme expres-ment cette explication.
21 Le pied Romain, le pied d'Angleterre, et le pied de Roi, sont dans proportion de 1306, 1351 1/2, et 1440. Le premier contient à-peu-près 3/5 pouces mesure d'Angleterre, et 10 7/8 mesure de France. *Traité s Mesures, &c. p.* 164. Après y avoir mûrement réfléchi, j'aimerois ieux ne donner à chaque personne que 2 1/2 pieds Romains. J'aurois 0,000 personnes pour les places, et 30,000 pour l'excédent. J'aurois

encore quelque chose à dire sur la mesure locale de M. d'Anville, mais il vaut mieux attendre que je sois à Rome.

Florence, le 11 Juillet.

[22] Le Victor Moderne est l'édition la plus étendue du même auteur publiée par Panvinius. Il y a beaucoup d'additions que les critiques méprisent avec raison, comme l'ouvrage d'un imposteur. *Nardini Roma Vetus, L. ii. C. v. p. 965.*

[23] Juvenal Satira xi. 195.

[24] Dio. Cass. apud Nardini, L. vii. C. ii. p. 1355.

[25] Journal, 20th September, p. 67, 68.

[26] Plin. Hist. Natur. L. ii. 5.

[27] Idem. L. xvi 40. L. xxxvi. 9.

[28] Strabon. Geograph. L. v. p. 60.

[29] T. Liv. V. 54.

[30] La navigation n'étoit que de seize milles Romains.

[31] Vossius, p. 1514 — 1515. Ses calculs sont un peu embrouillés comme à l'ordinaire, mais je prends son propre résultat.

[32] Nardini Roma Vetus, L. i. C. vi. p. 912 — 916.

[33] Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, par Bayle; mois de Janvier 1685.

[34] Vossius de Rom. Magnitud. C. iv. p. 906, 907.

[35] *Nympha in Aricino nemore, quam amicam suam Numa esse fingebat* Serv ad Æneid. L. vii. V. 762.

[36] Horat. Carm. L. i. Ode xvii.

[37] Virgil. Æneid, vii. 761-781; et Serv. ad locum Ovid. Metamorph. L. xv.

[38] Nardini Roma Vetus, L. i. C. iv. p. 902, 903, 904.

[39] Cluver. Ital. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 920; et sequent. Strabon. Geograph. L. v. p. 165. Mesures Itinéraires de M. d'Anville, p. 15.

[40] Sext. Fronten. de Aquæduct. Rom. L. i. p. 1635. iv. vol. Grav. Thesaurus.

[41] Il ne décide point la fameuse question de l'origine des Goths.

[42] D'Anville Mesures Itinéraires, p. 7, 8.

[43] Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. iii. p. 25.

[44] Constantine Porphyrogenitus. V. Cluver. Italia Antiqua, L. i. C. xviii. p. 138.

[45] V. Origine des Peuples d'Italie, dans le dix-huitième tome de l'Histoire de l'Académie des Belles Lettres.

[46] Polybe, L. ii. apud Cluver Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxii. p. 228, 229.

[47] Tit. Liv. xxi. 22.

[48] Id. ibid. 37.

[49] Polyb. Hist. L. iii. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxxiii. p. 363.

[50] Cluver. L. i. C. xxxiii. p. 370 — 375.

[51] Polyb. Hist. L. iii. Cluver, L. i. p. 365.

[52] Tit. Liv. xxi. 38.

[53] Id. xxii. 58.

[54] Tit Liv. xxi. 39. Polyb. Hist. L. iii.

[55] Strabon. Geog. L. iv. p. 141. Bergier Histoire des grands Chemins L. iii. C. 31. p. 471.

[56] Le paſſage du Mont Pennin étoit cependant le plus court. Dans cet endroit les montagnes étoient fort reſſerrés.
[57] Polyb. L. iii. Cluveri. C. 33. p. 382.
[58] Je n'ai preſque rien tiré de Cluvier, que ſa concluſion générale tournée très différemment. J'ai peu cité La véritable citation, celle qui peut tenir lieu de toutes les autres, c'eſt le vingt-unième livre de Tite Live, le troiſième livre de Polybe, et le trente-troiſième chapitre du premier livre de Cluvier.
[59] Tit. Liv. L. iv.
[60] V. Tabul. Pentinger.
[61] Dionyſ. Halicarn. L. ii.
[62] Tit. Liv. L. v.
[63] Vertot Revolut. Romaines, tom. iii. p. 26—30.
[64] T. Liv. Epitom. L. lxxii.
[65] T. Liv. viii. 60.
[66] Tit. Live, Epitom. L. lxxii.
[67] Ibid. L. lxxiii.
[68] Appian de Bell. Civil. L. i. p. 374. 376. 379.
[69] Strab. Geograph. L. v. p. 166, 167.
[70] Appian de Bell. Civil. L. i. p. 374.
[71] Cluv. Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. iii. p. 1154.
[72] J'ai vu depuis que l'étymologie de *Pompeii* eſt incertaine, et que le ſiége que j'avois déviné a eu lieu. *V. Vell. Patercul. L.* ii. C. 16.
[73] Appian de Bell. Civil. L. i. p. 374.
[74] Vide Cluv. Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. x. p. 1075; et L. iv. C. xvii. p. 1334.
[75] Appian de Bell. Civil. L. i. p. 374.
[76] Vell. Paterculus, L. ii. C. 16. Le *Minutius Magius* dont il y eſt parlé, ſoit de la ville même qui commença la guerre, par le meurtre d'un préteur et d'un légat.
[77] Voyez Réflexions ſur les Anciens Peuples, par M. Freret, dans le dix-huitième tome de l'Hiſtoire de l'Académie des Belles Lettres.
[78] T. Live, L. xxii. C. 36. Il paroit par beaucoup de paſſages de cet auteur que c'étoit la proportion la plus ordinaire. Velleius Paterculus doit exagérer un peu, quand il parle du double des troupes. L. ii. C. 15.
[79] Tacit. Annal. xi. 24.
[80] Vell. Patercul. L. ii. C. 15.
[81] Ibid. C. 16.
[82] Pièces Detachées. N° 7.
[83] Cl. Rutilii, Iter. L. i. 183. 205.
[84] J'en excepte l'invective contre Stilicon, L. ii. 41.
[85] Rutil. Iter. L. i. 450.
[86] Idem, L. i. 18.
[87] Idem, L. i. 39. 107, &c.
[88] Upon the ſublime and beautiful.
[89] V. Dialog. iii. p. 154—156.
[90] Traité ſur la Tolérance, C. ix. N. c. p. 71—75.
[91] Le même, C. xii. p. 127—129.
[92] Le même, C. viii. p. 69—73.

Notes to the Remarks and detached Pieces.

[1] Virgil, Æneid viii. 190.
[2] Ibid. 473.
[3] Silius, Ital. viii. 606.
[4] Tit. Liv. xxxix. 55. Vell. Patercul. L. i. C. 15.
[5] Itineraria. Antiq. Edit. Weſſeling, p. 309.
[6] Idem, p. 302.
[7] Sueton. in Auguſt. lxxviii.
[8] Plin. Epiſt. iii. 5. Juvenal. Satir. iii. 239.
[9] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. vii. 20.
[10] Sueton. in Cæſar. lvii.
[11] Vetera Itiner. p. 107, 108. 122.
[12] Stat. Sylvar. 14. Carm. iii.
[13] Iſac. Bulliad. Epiſt. ad Calcem. Tom. iii. Tit. Liv. ex Edit. Gronov.
[14] Tit. Liv. xliv. 37. xlv. 1.
[15] Roſin. Antiq. L. iv. C. 13.
[16] Itineraria, p. 317. et Not. Weſſeling. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. iii. 2.
[17] Ptolemæi Geog. C. ix.
[18] Itineraria, p. 319.
[19] Itineraria Ant. p. 307. iii. 117.
[20] Strabon. Geog. v. 162.
[21] Horat. L. i. Sat. 5. v. 134. Edit. ad uſum Delphini.
[22] Pour tout le voyage, la cinquième Satire du premier livre d'Horace.
[23] Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. v. p. 1077. Itiner. Hieroſolytanum. Edit. Weſſel. p. 611.
[24] Horace de Sanadon, tom. v. p. 138.
[25] Berg. Grands Chemins, L. ii. C. xxvi. p. 226.
[26] Horace de Sanadon, tom. v. p. 119. Paris, 1756.
[27] Horat. Serm. ii. 6. v. 20—60.
[28] Pour le détail de ce voyage il faut conſulter les épîtres à Atticus, L. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, et 10. L'Hiſtore de Ciceron, et par Fabricius, et par M. Middleton, à l'an de Rome 792.
[29] Toutes les diſtances dont il n'eſt par fait mention dans les Itinéraires, je les ai meſurées ſur la carte de M. Deliſle.
[30] Itinerar. p. 119. Pliny ſays 35 miles. Nat. Hiſt. iii. 26.
[31] Itinerar. p. 325—326.
[32] Bergier Hiſt. des Grands Chemins de l'Empire, L. i. C. ix. p. 27.
[33] V. l'Antiquité expliquée du P. Monfaucon.
[34] Tit. Liv. xxvii. 43—51.
[35] Itineraria Auton, p. 312, 313, 314, 315. J'ai meſuré ſur la carte de Deliſle la diſtance de Canuſium à Larinum.
[36] Tit. Liv. xxvii. 50. xxviii. 9.
[37] Id. xxvii. 46.
[38] Ovid. Faſt. L. iv. p. 583.
[39] Dialogues upon Medals, Dial. ii. p. 47.
[40] Tacit. Annal. ii. 1.

41 Lettera Crit. p. 37.
42 Id. p. 39.
43 Id. 54.
44 V. Sur-tout Lettera Crit. p. 41—58.
45 Lettera Crit. p. 77—87.
46 Id. p. 59—66.
47 Monteſquieu on the Greatneſs and Decline of the Romans.
48 Onuphr. Panvin. on Triumphs. Il a pris ce nombre dans Oroſe.
49 Tit. Liv. L. ii. Dionyſ. Halicarn. L. v.
50 Tit. Liv. L. iii. Dionyſ. Harlicarn. L. xi.
51 Cicer. in Piſon. C. xxiii.
52 See the Abbé Bleterie's Diſſertation on the title Imperator. Mém. de Academ. des Belles Lettres, tome xxi.
53 Je ne puis renvoyer qu'à Tite Live et aux Faſtes du ſixième et ſeptième ſiècles de Rome.
54 Appian. de Bell. Civil. L. i. Cicer. pro. leg. Manil.
55 Tit. Liv. xxviii.
56 V. Onuphr. Panvin. de Triumphis, et Appian in Lybicis.
57 V. Flori Epitom. Oroſium, T. Liv. lv. Auctor de Vir. illuſtriſſ.
58 V. Joſeph. Antiq. Judaic. et de Bell. Judaico.
59 Tit. Liv. xxvii.
60 Juvenal Satyr. viii. 249, et ſeq.
61 See the Oration of M. Servilius. Tit. Liv. xlv.
62 T. Liv. x.
63 Id. xxviii.
64 Id x.
65 Appian de Bell. Civil. L. ii.
66 Cicer. Philippic. xiv. paſſ. 5.
67 Tacit. Hiſt. iv. 4.
68 Cicer. in Piſon. C. xxiii.
69 Plutarch et Stephanus, Tit. Liv. Dionyſ. Halicarn. et Feſtus.
70 Tacit. Annal. i. 8. Sueton. in Aug. C. 100.
71 Donat Roma Vetus, L. i. C. 22. p 79—88.
72 Donat. loc. citat. L. i. C. 21. p. 72. Nardini Roma Antica, L. i. C. 9. 38; et C. 10. p. 47—50.
73 Martial Epig. x. 6.
74 Tit. L. i. Sueton. in Auguſt. xxii. et in Neron, xiii. Horat. Carm. iv. 5. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. xxxiv. 7.
75 Virgil. Æneid, L. vii. 608
76 Tit. L. i. Serv. ad Æneid VII. Nardini Roma Antiqua, L. vii. C. 4. 439.
77 Donati Roma Vetus, L. ii. C. 26. p. 212.
78 J'ai l'ai meſuré ſur le grand plan de Rome de Molli.
79 Procopius de Bell. Gothic, L. i.
80 Nardini Roma Antica, L. i. C. iii. p. 13. et L. v. C. vii. p. 256—257.
81 Plutarch in Romul.
82 Sueton. in Aug. C. 100. Tacit. Annal. I. 8.

Notes to the Eſſay ſur l'Etude de la Littérature.

[1] ——— Cynthius aurem
Vellit et admonuit.

[2] Auteur d'un ouvrage nommé Polymetis. La mythologie des poëtes y eſt combinée avec celle des ſculpteurs. Cet ouvrage plein de goût et de ſavoir mériteroit d'être plus connu en France.

[3] N° 155.

[4] Cicero Orator. 29.

[5] Plutarch. in Cat. Major.

[6] Juſtin. xx. 5.

[7] De Finib. l. iii.

[8] Ce ſiècle fut celui des ſectes philoſophiques, qui combattoient pour les ſyſtèmes de leurs maîtres reſpectifs, avec tout l'acharnement des théologiens.

L'amour des ſyſtèmes produit néceſſairement celui des principes généraux; et celui-ci conduit d'ordinaire au mépris des connoiſſances de détail.

" L'amour des ſyſtèmes, (dit M. Freret) qui s'empara des eſprits après " Ariſtote, fit abandonner aux Grecs l'étude de la nature, et arrêta les " progrès de leurs découvertes philoſophiques: les raiſonnemens ſubtils " prirent la place des expériences: les ſciences exactes, la géométrie, " l'aſtronomie, la vraie philoſophie diſparurent preſqu'entièrement. On ne " s'occupa plus du ſoin d'acquérir des connoiſſances nouvelles, mais de " celui de ranger, et de lier les unes aux autres, celles que l'on croyoit " avoir, pour en former des ſyſtèmes. C'eſt là ce qui forma toutes les " différentes ſectes: les meilleurs eſprits s'évaporèrent dans les abſtractions " d'une métaphyſique obſcure, où les mots tenoient le plus ſouvent la " place des choſes, et la dialectique, nommé par Ariſtote l'inſtrument " de notre eſprit, devint chez ſes diſciples l'objet principal et preſque " unique de leur application. La vie entière ſe paſſoit à étudier l'art de " raiſonnement, et à ne raiſonner jamais, ou du moins à ne raiſonner que " ſur des objets fantaſtiques. "

Mém. de l'Acad. des B. L. tom. vi. p. 19

[9] Feuilletez la Bibliothéque Latine de Fabricius, le meilleur de tous ceux qui n'ont été que compilateurs: vous y verrez que dans l'eſpace de quarante ans, après la découverte de l'imprimerie, preſque tous les auteurs Latins étoient imprimés, quelques uns même plus d'une fois. Le goût des éditeurs n'égala pas, il eſt vrai, leur zèle. Les écrivains de Phiſtoire Auguſte parurent avant Tite Live; et l'on donna Aulu-Gelle avant de ſonger à Virgile.

[10] Eſchyle a fait une tragédie (les Perſes), où il a peint avec les couleurs les plus vives, la gloire des Grecs et la conſternation des Perſes après la journée de Salamine.

V. le Téhat. des Grecs du P. Brumoy, tom. ii. p. 171, &c.

[11] Ecoutons

11 Ecoutons le Préſident Hénault. " Cette princeſſe étoit ſavante. Un " jour qu'elle entretenoit Calignon, qui fut depuis Chancelier de Navare, " elle lui fit voir une traduction en Latin, qu'elle avoit faite, de quelques " tragédies de Sophocle et de deux harangues de Démoſthène. Elle lui " permit de prendre une copie d'une épigramme Grecque de ſa façon; et " elle lui demanda ſon avis ſur des paſſages de Lycophron, qu'elle avoit " alors entre les mains, et dont elle vouloit traduire quelques endroits. "

Abrég. Chronolog. in Quart. Paris 1752. p. 397.

12 M. Le Clerc, dans ſon excellent *Ars critica*, et dans pluſieurs autres de ſes ouvrages.

13 On a ôté à cette étude le nom de Belles-Lettres, qu'une longue préſcription ſembloit lui avoir conſacré, pour y ſubſtituer celui d'érudition. (1) Nos littérateurs ſont devenus des érudits.

L'Abbé Maſſieu traitoit cette dernière expreſſion de Néologiſme en 1721. (2) Changeroit-il de ton à préſent? Il ſiéroit mal à un étranger de vouloir le décider. Je connois tous les droits des grands écrivains ſur la langue; mais je voudrois, qu'après avoir reconnu qu'un érudit peut avoir du goût, des vues, de la fineſſe dans l'eſprit, (3) ils ne ſe ſerviſſent pas de ce terme pour déſigner un ſervile admirateur des anciens, d'autant plus aveugle qu'il y a tout vu, hors leurs graces et leurs beautés. (4)

14 Fontenelle dans ſa digreſſion ſur les anciens et les modernes, et ailleurs.

Oeuv. de Greſſet. tom. ii. p. 49.

15 Fontenelle dans ſon Eloge. VOLTAIRE, tom. xvii. p. 79.

16 Newton réformoit la chronologie ordinaire, et y trouvoit des erreurs de cinq à ſix cent ans. Voyez mes remarques critiques ſur cette Chronologie.

17 La vie de Leibnitz par de Neufville, à la tête de ſa Théodicée.

18 Je n'ai point cherché à faire un compliment à ſon A. R. Mgr. le Duc de Cumberland, dont je reſpecte infiniment la naiſſance et le rang, ſans faire apprécier ſes talents militaires. Si l'on ſe rappelle que les vers ſuivans ſont tirés du poëme ſur la bataille de Fontenoy, on ſentira que c'eſt plutôt M. de Voltaire qui parle que moi. Je ne crois pas cette remarque inutile. Des gens d'eſprit s'y ſont trompés.

19 Oeuvres de Volt. tom. ii. p. 300.

20 Voy. le iii. L. de Thucydide.

Diodore de Sicile, depuis le L. xi. juſqu'au L. xx. preſque par tout. La Préface de l'Abbé Terraſſon au iii. tom. de ſa Traduction de Diodore de Sicile, et Hume's Political Eſſays, p. 191.

21 V. les pièces de Huet et de Deſpreaux, dans le iii. tom. des Oeuvres de celui-ci.

(1) V. La Motte et d'Alembert.
(2) Maſſieu dans ſa préface aux œuvres de Toureil.
(3) M. Dalemb. dans l'art. Erudition de l'Encycl. Françoiſe.
(4) M. Dalemb. dans le diſcours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie, et ailleurs.

22 Le compas d'or dont le Créateur meſure l'univers étonne chez Milton. Peut-être chez lui eſt-il puérile : chez Homère il eut été ſublime. Nos idées philoſophiques de la Divinité nuiſent au poëte. Les mêmes ornemens qui auroient relevé le Jupiter des Grecs, la défigurent. Le beau génie de Milton lutte contre le ſyſtème de ſa religion, et ne paroit jamais ſi grand que lorſqu'il en eſt un peu affranchi : pendant qu'un Properce déclamateur froid et foible, ne doit ſa renommée qu'au ſpectacle riant de ſa mythologie.

23 V. les Remarques de M. Deſpreaux ſur Longin.

24 Vie de Bacon par Mallet, p. 27.

25 V. Terent. Eunuch. Act ii. Sc. Heauton. Act i. Sc. i.

Les *Cupedinarii* dont parle Térence ne détruiſent point cette réflexion. Ce mot (quand-même on n'adopteroit pas la conjecture de Saumaiſe) étoit devenu d'un nom propre, un nom appellatif. V. Térence Eunuch. Act. ii. Sc. ii.

26 Amphytr. Act. i. Sc. i. Quid faciam nunc, ſi Treſviri me in carcerem compegerint, &c.

27 V. les Diſſertations de M. de la Bleterie ſur le pouvoir des Empereurs. Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xix. p. 357—457. tom. xx. p. 299. &c. tom. xxiv. p. 261. &c. p. 279. &c.

28 Varron de Ling. Latina, L. iv. Dionyſ. Halycarn. L. xi. p. 70. Plutarch. in Romul.

29 Voyez ſes paroles : " Sora (quis credat?) et Algidum terrori fuerunt. " Satricum et Corniculum provinciæ. De Verulis et Bovillis pudet; ſed " triumphavimus. Tibur nunc ſuburbanum, et æſtivæ Præneſte delicie " nuncupatis in capitolio votis petebantur. Idem tunc Fæſulæ, quod Carr " nuper. Idem nemus Aricinum, quod Hercynius ſaltus : Fregellæ, quo " Geſſoriacum : Tiberis quod Euphrates. Coriolos, quoque, proh pudor " victos, adeo gloriæ fuiſſe, ut captum opidum C. Marcius Coriolanus, qu " Numantiam aut Africam, nomini induerit. Extant et parta de Anti " ſpolia, quos Mœnius in ſuggeſtu fori, captâ heſtium claſſi, ſuffixit; " tamen illa claſſis : nam ſex fuere roſtratæ. Sed hic numerus illis initi " navale bellum fuit (1)." Properce a entrevu cette idée, mais confuſément.

" Coſſus, at inſequitur Veïentes cæde Tolumni
" Vincere dum Veïos poſſe, laboris eras.
" Nec dum ultra Tiberim, belli ſonus, ultima præda
" Nomentum, et captæ jugera terna Coræ (2)."

Mais dans toute la tirade il mêle deux idées, qui par elles mêmes et par leurs effets, ſont très différentes. La comparaiſon de Rome floriſſante avec Rome naiſſante, pénètre l'ame d'un ſentiment de grandeur et de plaiſir. Au lieu que ces campagnes incultes où paroiſſoient à peine les débris de l'ancienne Veïes, inſpirent la mélancolie et l'attendriſſement.

30 Virg. Æneid. L. viii. V. 185—370.

(1) L. Annæi Flori, L. i. C. xi.
(2) Propertii Eleg, L. iv. Eleg. xi. V. 23.

Hinc ad Tarpeïam ſedem et Capitolia ducit,
Aurea nunc, olim ſylveſtribus horrida dumis.
——— armenta videbant
Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.

[31] Rien de plus difficile pour un écrivain élevé dans le luxe, que de peindre ſans baſſeſſe des mœurs ſimples. Liſez l'Epitre de Penelope dans Ovide, vous vous y ſentirez révolté de cette même ruſticité qui vous enchante chez Homère. Liſez Mademoiſelle de Scudéry, vous ſerez déſagréablement ſurpris de retrouver à la cour de Tomyris la pompe de celle de Louis XIV. Il faut être fait à ces mœurs pour en ſaiſir le ton. La réflexion a tenu lieu d'expérience à Virgile, et peut-être à Fenelon. Ils ont connu qu'il les falloit orner un peu, pour ménager la délicateſſe de leurs concitoyens; mais qu'on choqueroit cette même délicateſſe, ſi on les fardoit beaucoup.

[32] J'aurois dû dire Aleſia. Alexia eſt une leçon fautive de quelques éditions des commentaires; mais les plus anciens manuſcrits, d'accord avec les autres écrivains, portent conſtamment Aleſia (1).

[33] Liv. L. iv. c. 59, 60.

[34] Id. L. xxx. c. 45, &c. Arbuthnot's Tables, p. 181, &c.

[35] Saluſt in Bell. Catilin. p. 22. Edit. Thyſii.

[36] Ce taux étoit de trois mille drachmes, ou douze mille ſeſterces pour le ſimple légionaire (2), du double pour le cavalier et le centenier, et du quadruple pour le tribun (3). La légion Romaine, depuis l'augmentation de Marius (4), étoit de ſix mille fantaſſins, et de trois cens chevaux. Ce grand corps n'avoit que ſoixante-ſix officiers, ſavoir ſoixante centeniers et ſix tribuns. Voilà le calcul:

	Liv. Sterl.
12,000 légionaires à 3000 drachmes ou 12,000 ſeſterces, ou 105 l. ſterling chacun,	28,905,000
820 centeniers et 14,100 cavaliers à 6000 drachmes ou 210 livres ſterling chacun,	3,468,600
12 tribuns à 12,000 drachmes ou l. 410 chacun,	115,620
En tout l.	32,489,220

Suivant les calculs de M. Arbuthnot cette ſomme ne ſeroit que de l. 30,705,220, la drachme valant 73/4 ſous d'Angleterre (5). Mais quelques recherches que j'aie faites, la drachme Attique des derniers temps, égale au denier Romain en poids comme en valeur, valoit 81/5 de cette monnoye (6).

(1) Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, par M. d'Anville, p. 49.
(2) Dion. Caſſ. L. liv. Lipſ. Ex. ad L. i. Annal. Tacit. C.
(3) Wotton's Hiſtory of Rome, p. 154.
(4) Roſin. Antiq. p. 964.
(5) Arbuth. Tables, p. 15.
(6) V. mes Rem. MSS. ſur les poids, &c. des anciens. Hooper, p. 108. Eiſenſchmidt, p. 23, &c.

[37] Liv. L. lxxxix. Epitom. Freinsheim. Suppl. L. lxxxix. c. 34.
Sur l'article des colonies militaires on peut consulter les Cenotaphi Pisana du Cardinal Norris. Le second chapitre de sa première dissertati contient des détails très instructifs sur cette matière.

[38] Tacit. Annal. xiv. p. 249. Edit. Lipsii.

[39] Tacit. de Mor. Germa. p. 441.

[40] Salust. in Bell. Catilin. p. 40. Cicero in Catilin. Orat. ii. c. 9.

[41] Racine, Mithrid. Act. iii. Sc. 1.

[42] V. Donat. in Vit. Virgil. Virgil, Eclog. ix. v. 2, &c.

[43] Virg. Georg. L. i. v. 40.

[44] Varro de Re Rustic. L. i. c. 1.

[45] Hic petit excidiis urbem, miserosque penates,
Ut gemmâ bibat, et Sarrano dormiat ostro.
Virg. Georg. L. ii. v. 505, &

[46] Virg. Geor. L. iv. v. 125. et seq.

[47] Il étoit du nombre des pirates auxquels Pompée avoit donné d terres. V. Serv. in Loc. et Vell. Pater. L. ii. p. 56.

[48] Virg. Georg. L. i. v. 512.

[49] Sylvestres homines sacer interpresque Deorum
Cædibus et victu fœdo deterruit Orpheus;
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones.
Horat. Ars Poet. v. 39

[50] Tillemont. Hist. des Emper. Tacit. Annal. L. i. p. 39. Dionys. L. i p. 565. Sueton. in August. c. 49.

[51] Clerici Ars Crit. L. i. c. 1.

[52] Il faut borner ce vrai au vrai historiq ue, à la vérité de leurs témoi nages et non de leurs opinions. Cette dernière espèce de vérité est plutôt d ressort de la logique que de celui de la critique.

[53] C'est-à-dire, l'autorité combinée avec l'expérience.

[54] Il s'agit principalement des élémens de la géométrie et de ceux de critique.

[55] Une définition claire de cette certitude sur laquelle on se disput auroit pu abréger la controverse, "C'est la certitude historique." M cette certitude varie de siècle en siècle. Je crois en gros à l'existence et actions de Charlemagne: mais la certitude que j'en ai, n'est point égal celle des exploits d'Henri quatre.

[56] V. Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. vi. p. 14. 190.

[57] Dissert. sur l'Incertit. de l'Hist. Rom. p. 33—46.

[58] Polyb. Hist. L. iii. c. 22.

[59] Spoponderunt consules, legati, quæstores, tribuni militum, nomi que eorum qui spoponderunt adhuc exstant, ubi si ex fœdere acta res e præterquam duorum fecialium non extarent.
Tit. Liv. L. ix. c

[60] Tit. Liv. L viii. c. 4.
Le préteur Annius appelle le gouvernement des Romains, *Re impotens.*

[61] V. Cleric. Ars Critic. L. ii. c. 2. § 1, 2, 3.

[62] Polyb. L. i. c. 20.

[63] Je ne dis rien de la flotte qui parut devant Tarente. Je crois que les
iſſeaux appartenoient aux habitans de Thuricum. Voyez Frensheim
pplem. Livian. L. xii. c. 8.

[64] Arbuthnot's Tables, p. 225. Hiſt. du commerce des anciens, par
et. c. 221.

[65] On peut voir une autre hypothèſe du célèbre M. Freret. Elle plaît
r ſa ſimplicité, mais elle me paroit inſoutenable. Voy. Mémoires de
Académ. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xviii. p. 102, &c.

[66] V. Bentley et Sanadon au v. 120. de l'Art Poétique d'Horace.

[67] Horat. Ars Poet. v 119. et ſeq.

[68] En matière de géographie et de chronologie on doit peu compter ſur
utorité d'Ovide. Ce poëte étoit d'une ignorance groſſière dans ces
ux ſciences. Liſez la deſcription des voyages de Médée; Metamorph.
vii. v. 350. à 402. et le xiv. L. des mêmes Metamorph. Celle-là eſt
nplie d'erreurs géographiques, qui donnent la torture aux commen-
eurs mêmes: et celui-ci fourmille de bévues chronologiques.

[69] Serv. ad Virg. Æneid. L. iv. v. 620. Dion. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. L. i.

[70] Racine, Iphig. Act. v. Sc. dern.

[71] Tit. Liv. L. i. c. 1.

[72] Virg. Æneid. L. vii. v. 148 juſqu'à 285.

[73] On peut douter cependant ſi cet épiſode bleſſe la véritable chronologie.
ns le ſyſtème plauſible du Chevalier Newton, Enée et Didon ſe trouvent
temporains (1). Les Romains devoient mieux connoître l'hiſtoire de
thage que les Grecs. Les archives de Carthage étoient paſſées à Rome (2).
langue Punique y étoit aſſez connue (3). Les Romains conſultoient
ontiers les Africains ſur leurs origines (4). D'ailleurs (et c'eſt aſſez
r diſculper notre poëte) Virgile adopte une chronologie plus conforme
ſupputations de Newton qu'à celles d'Eratoſthène. Peut-être on ne
pas fâché de voir les preuves de ce ſentiment.

pt ans ſuffirent à peine au courroux de Junon et aux voyages d'Enée.
Didon qui me l'apprend;

" — Nam te jam ſeptima portat
" Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus ætas (5)."

lques mois après il arriva au bord du Tibre. Ce fut là que le Dieu du
ve lui apparut, lui prédit de nouveaux combats, mais lui fit eſpérer
fin glorieuſe à ſes maux. Un prodige confirma l'oracle. Une truye
chée ſur le rivage montroit, par ſes trente petits qui l'environnoient,

(1) V. Newton's Chronology of ancient Kingdoms reformed, p. 32.
(2) Univerſal Hiſtory, tom. xviii. p. 111, 112.
(3) Plaut. Penul. Act v. Sc. 1.
(4) Saluſt. in Bell. Jugurth. c. 17. Ammian Marcel. L. xxii. Mém. de
ad. des Belles Lettres, tom. iv. p. 464.
(5) Virgile, Eneid. L. i. v. 755.

le nombre d'années qui devoient s'écouler avant que le jeune Ascagne jettât les fondemens l'Albe?

" Jamque tibi, ne vana putes hæc fingere somnum,
" Littoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus,
" Triginta capitum fœtus enixa, jacebit;
" Alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati.
" Hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum:
" Ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis
" Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam (1)."

Cette ville demeura pendant trois cents ans le siège de l'empire et le berceau des Romains;

" Hic jam ter centos totos regnabitur annos
" Gente sub Hectorea (2)."

Ce sont-là les expressions que Virgile met à la bouche de Jupiter. Ne chronologistes s'embarassent peu de faire tenir sa parole au Maître du tonnerre. Ils font détruire la ville d'Albe par Tullus Hostilius près de cinq cents ans après sa fondation, et environ cent ans après celle de Rome (3). Mais tout s'applanit dans le système de Newton. La prise de Troyes placée à l'an 904, et suivie d'un intervalle de 337 ans, nous conduit à 567, 60 ans après les Palilia, époque qui quadre au mieux avec le regne du troisième successeur de Romulus (4). Une ancienne tradition conservée par Plutarque (5) y coïncide avec précision. On déterra les livres de Numa An. ant. Chr. 181, quatre cents ans après la mort de ce roi et le commencement du regne d'Hostilius. Numa mourut donc 581 ans avant l'ère Chrétienne. Quel art dans le poëte de saisir le moment où Enée arrive à Carthage, pour répondre à ses critiques, de la seule manière que la rapidité de sa marche et la grandeur de son sujet pouvoient le lui permettre! Il leur fait sentir que dans ses hypothèses la rencontre de Didon et d'Enée n'est point une licence poétique. Virgile n'est point le seul qui ait revoqué en doute la chronologie vulgaire des rois Latins. Je le soupçonne même d'avoir puisé ses idées dans les ouvrages de son contemporain Trogue Pompée Cet historien, le rival de Tite-Live et de Salluste (6), donne au royaume d'Albe la même durée de trois cents ans. Si son histoire universelle ne s'étoit pas perdue, nous y verrions apparemment le détail et les preuves de cette opinion. A présent il faut nous contenter d'en lire la simple exposition chez son abréviateur. " Albam longam condidit ... " trecentis annis caput regni fuit (7)." Tite-Live lui-même, ce père de l'histoire Romaine, qui fait paroître quelquefois tant d'attachement à la chronologie reçue (8), mais qui glisse d'ordinaire sur les endroits scabreux

(1) Virgile, Eneid. L. viii. v. 42.
(2) Idem. L. i. v. 272.
(3) V. les Tables Chronolog. d'Helvicus. è l. ann. A. C. 656, &c.
(4) Newton's Chronoly, p. 52, &c.
(5) V. Plutarch. in Numa.
(6) Flav. Vopisc. in Proem. Aurelian.
(7) Justin. L. xliii. c. 1.
(8) Tit. Liv. L. i. c. 18. et alibi passim.

d'une façon qui montre sa bonne foi et son ignorance, semble se défier de ses guides dans ces siècles reculés. Rien de plus naturel que de marquer la durée du regne de chaque roi Latin dont il rapporte le nom (1) ! Or il se tait sur cet article. Rien de plus nécessaire que de fixer au-moins l'intervale entre Enée et Romulus ; il ne le fait point. Ce n'est pas tout. " La des-" truction d'Albe, dit-il, suivit de 400 ans sa fondation (2)." En retranchant cent ans pour les regnes de Romulus et de Numa, et pour la moitié de celui d'Hostilius, il nous en restera 300 au-lieu de 400 que nous donneroit la chronologie d'Eratosthène. Tite Live est donc d'accord avec Virgile à peu de chose près ; et cette petite différence affermit leur union plutôt qu'elle ne l'affoiblit. Je prévois une objection, mais des plus minces. Y répondre ce seroit créer des monstres pour les combattre ; ainsi, je finis cette digression déjà trop longue.

74 Thucydid. l. i.

75 Lucret. de Rer. Natur. L. vii. v. 1136, &c.

76 M. Freret croyoit les observations philosophiques des anciens plus exactes qu'on ne le pense. Quiconque connoit le génie et les lumières de M. Freret, sent le poids de son autorité. V. Mém. de l'Académ. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xviii. p. 97.

77 Cicéron envie le sort de son ami Marius qui passa à la campagne les jours des jeux magnifiques de Pompée. Il parle avec assez de mépris du reste des spectacles : mais il s'attache sur-tout aux combats des bêtes sauvages. " Reliquæ sunt venationes, (dit il) binæ per dies quinque ; magni-" fice, nemo negat, sed quæ potest homini esse polito delectatio, cum " aut homo imbecillus à valentissimâ bestia laniatur at præclara bestia " venabulo transverberatur."

78 Cicero ad Famil. L. vii. Epist. 1.

79 Horat. L. iii. Ep. 1. v. 187.

80 V. Essais de Mont. vol. iii. p. 140.

Mon exemple étoit très-bon, ma citation fort mauvaise. J'aurois du recourir à l'original, (3) Vopiscus. Cet auteur rapporte à l'occasion du triomphe de Probus, qu'on amena dans l'amphithéâtre cent lions, autant de lionnes, cent léopards Libyens, le même nombre de Syriens, et trois cents ours. Je ne connois point de spectacle plus nombreux, mais les animaux que Gordien avoit assemblés, et dont se servit Philippe dans ses jeux séculaires étoient plus curieux par leur variété et par leur rareté. Il y avoit trente-deux éléphans, dix élans, dix tigres, soixante lions apprivoisés, trente léopards apprivoisés, dix hyenes, un hippopotame, un rhinoceros, dix *agrioleontes* (4), dix *camelopardali*, vingt ânes sauvages,

(1) Tit. Liv. L. i. c. 29.

(2) Idem. l. i. c. 29.

(3) V. Vopisc. in vit. Prob. p. 240. edit. Salmas. Paris 1620.

(4) On ignore ce qu'ils sont, Saumaise lit *argoleontes*, des lions blancs (*a*) ; Casaubon et Scaliger (*b*) *agrioleontes* des lions sauvages.

(*a*) Comment. Salmas, in Hist. Aug. 268.

(*b*) Comment. Casaub. in eand. Hist. p. 169.

et quarante chevaux ſauvages (1). C'eſt principalement dans la décadence de l'empire et du goût, qu'il faut chercher cette magnificence.

[81] Strab. L. vxii. p. 816. Edit Caſaub.

[82] Tacit. in Vit. Agricol. c. 10.

[83] Herodian. Hiſt. l. iii. c. 47.

[84] Voici les paroles d'Hérodien, "Τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τῆς Βρεττανῶν χώρας ἐπικλύζομενα ταῖς τῷ ὠκεανῷ συνεχῶς ἀμπώτισιν ἑλώδη γίνεται. Tacite s'exprime d'une manière encore plus forte. "Unum addiderim "(dit-il) nuſquam latius dominari mare; multum fluminum huc atque "illuc ferri, nec littore tenus accreſcere aut reſorberi, ſed influere "penitus atque ambire; etiam jugis atque montibus influere velut "in ſuo."

[85] Le conſul Céthégus deſſécha ce marais. A. U. C. 952. Du temps de Jules-César il étoit derechef inondé. Ce dictateur avoit deſſein d'y faire travailler. Il paroit qu'Auguſte le fit; mais je doute que ſes travaux ayent mieux réuſſi que les premiers. Du moins Pline l'appelle encore marais. Horace l'avoit en quelque ſorte prédit.

"Debemur morti nos noſtraque
"Sterilis ut palus dudum aptaque remis
"Vicinas urbes alit et grave ſenſit aratrum.

Frensheim. Supp. L. xlvi. c. 44. Sueton. L. i. c. 34. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. L. iii. c. 5.

[86] Depuis qu'Epicure eut répandu ſa doctrine, on commença à ſe déclarer aſſez publiquement ſur la religion dominante, et à ne la regarder que comme une inſtitution. V. Lucret. de Rer. Natur. L. i. v. 62, &c. Saluſt. in Bell. Catilin. c. 51. Cicero pro Cluent. c. 61.

[87] Athée en niant ſinon l'exiſtence, du moins la providence de la divinité; car Céſar étoit épicurien. Ceux qui ont envie de voir comment un homme d'eſprit peut rendre obſcure une vérité claire, liront avec plaiſir les doutes que M. Bayle a ſu répandre ſur les ſentimens de Céſar. V. Dict. de Bayle à l'article Céſar.

[88] V. Mémoires de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. tom. i. p. 369, &c.

[89] Cicero ad Attic, L. xii. epiſt. 46, &c. L. xiii. epiſt. 28.

[90] Céſar étoit ſouverain pontife, et ce ſacerdoce n'étoit point pour les empereurs un vain titre. Les belles diſſertations de M. de la Baſtie ſur le pontificat des empereurs convaincront les incrédules, s'il en eſt, ſur cet article. Conſultez ſurtout la troiſième de ces pièces inſérée dans les Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xv. p. 39.

[91] Lucrèce né avec cet enthouſiaſme d'imagination, qui fait les grands poëtes et les miſſionnaires, voulut être l'un et l'autre. Je plaindrois le théologien qui ne feroit pas grace au dernier en faveur du premier. Lucrèce, après avoir prouvé la Divinité malgré lui-même, en rapportant les phénomènes de la nature à des cauſes générales, cherche comment l'erreur qu'il combat a pu s'emparer de tous les eſprits. Il en trouve trois raiſons; I. Nos ſonges; nous y voyons des êtres et des effets que nous ne rencontrons

(1) Jul. Capitolin. in Gordian. p. 164.

point dans ce monde ; nous leur accordons auſſitôt une exiſtence réelle et une puiſſance immenſe. II. Notre ignorance de la nature, qui nous fait recourir par tout à l'action de la Divinité. III. Notre crainte, l'effet de cette ignorance ; elle nous engage à fléchir devant les calamités qui ravagent la terre, et nous fait eſſayer d'appaiſer par nos prières quelque être inviſible qui nous afflige. Lucrèce exprime cette dernière raiſon avec une énergie et une rapidité qui nous enlève. Il ne nous accorde point le temps de l'examiner.

" Præterea cui non animus formidine Divûm,
" Contrahitur? cui non conrepunt membra pavore,
" Fulminis horribili cum plaga torrida tellus
" Contremit, et magnum percurrunt murmura cœlum ?
" Non populi, gentesque tremunt? Regesque ſuperbi
" Conripiunt Divûm perculſi membra timore,
" Ne quod ob admiſſum fœde dictumve ſuperbe
" Pœnarum grave ſit ſolvendi tempus adactum."

Lucret. de Rer. Natura, L. v. ver. 1216, &c.

92 Fonten. dans l'Eloge du Marq. de Dangeau.

93 Liv. L. xxxix. c. 40. Plutarch. in Caton.

94 Liv. L. xxix. c. 37.

95 Quint. Curt. de Reb. Geſt. Alexandri, L. iii. c. 32.

96 Les Romains confioient le ſoin de la vertu des femmes à leur famille. Celle-ci s'aſſembloit, la jugeoit, ſi elle étoit accuſée, la condamnoit à mort et exécutoit la ſentence, ſi elle ſe trouvoit coupable. La loi pardonnoit auſſi au courroux du mari ou du père qui tuoit le galant, ſurtout s'il étoit de condition ſervile. V. Plutarch. in Romul. Dionyſ. Halicarn. L. vii. Tacit. Annal. L. xiii. Valer. Maxim. L. vi. c. 3—7. Roſin. Antiq. Rom. L. viii. p. 859, &c.

97 Le diſcours de Micio dans Térence, la manière dont Cicéron excuſe les débauches de ſon client, et l'exhortation de Caton, peuvent nous faire connoître la morale des Romains à cet égard. Ils ne blâmoient la débauche que lorſqu'elle détournoit le citoyen de ſes devoirs eſſentiels.

Leurs oreilles n'étoient pas plus chaſtes que leur conduite : peu de gens connoiſſent la Caſina de Plaute, mais ceux qui ont lu cette miſérable pièce, ne peuvent comprendre qu'il n'y ait eu que quarante à cinquante ans de cette farce à l'Andrienne. Une intrigue ſale d'eſclaves, n'y eſt relevée que par des pointes et des obſcénités dignes d'eux. C'étoit cependant la comédie de Plaute qu'on voyoit avec le plus de plaiſir, et qu'on redémandoit le plus ſouvent. Voilà les mœurs de la ſeconde guerre Punique, de cette vertu que la poſtérité des anciens Romains regrettoit et admiroit. V. Terent. Adelph. Act. i. Sc. 2. v. 38. Cicero pro Cœlio, c. 17. Horat. Satyr. L. i. Sat. 2. v. 29. II. Prolog. ad Caſin. Plaut.

98 Sueton. L. iii. c. 35. Tacit. Annal. L. ii. c. 85.

99 Liv. L. iii. c. 44 — 60.

100 Tacit. Annal. L. iii. p. 84. edit. Lipſ.

101 D'Alemb. Mélanges de philoſophie et de littérature, vol. ii. p. 1.

102 Il faut cependant distinguer Homère, Hésiode, Pindare, et les poëtes tragiques, qui vécurent pendant que la tradition etoit plus pure.

103 Voyez sur cette article la Recherche Libre du Docteur Middleton, et l'Histoire du Manichéisme de M. de Beausobre, deux beaux monumens d'un siècle éclairé.

104 Tacit. Hist. L. v. Fleury. Hist. Eccles. tom. i. p. 369. et tom. ii. p. 5. et les Apologies de Justin Martyr et de Tertullien, qui y sont citées.

105 D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. Artic. Allah. p. 100, et Sale's Alcoran. Prelim. Disc. p. 71.

106 Reland. de Rel. Mahomm. Part ii. c. 6 et 7.

107 V. Warburton's Divine Legation, tom. i. p. 270 — 276.

108 Herodot. L. i.

109 Diodor. Sic. L. xvii. Quint. Curt. L. iv. c. 7. Arrian. L. iii.

110 Herodot. L. ii.

111 Dans sa mythologie expliquée par l'histoire.

112 Herodot. L. ii.

113 Je dois beaucoup, dans ces recherches, au savant Freret de l'Académie des Belles-Lettres. Il a donné des ouvertures dans une route, qui paroissoit vue de tous côtés. Je crois cependant que ses raisonnemens valent mieux, lorsqu'il est question de faits que quand il s'agit de dogmes. Prévenu d'estime pour ce littérateur, je dévorai avidement sa réponse à la chronologie Newtonienne; mais oserai-je le dire? il ne répondit point à mon attente. Que lui reste-t-il de nouveau, si vous lui ôtez les principes d'une théologie et d'une chronologie nouvelles, que nous possédions déjà (1), des généalogies défecteuses et très-peu concluantes, quelques recherches minutieuses, sur la chronologie de Sparte, une astronomie ancienne, que je n'entends pas trop bien, et la belle préface de M. Bougainville, que je relis toujours avec un goût nouveau?

114 Hist. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xvi. p. 28, &c.

115 V. Mém. de Litter. tom. xii. p. 5. &c. et Ezech. Spanheim in Callim.

116 Homer. Odyss. L. xi.

117 Id. Iliad, L. iv. v. 193.

118 Id. L. v. v. 241.

119 Lactant. Instit. L. i. c. xi. p. 62.

" Antiquus auctor Ephemerus, qui fuit é civitate Messan[a], res gestas " Jovis et cæterorum qui Dii putantur collegit, historiamque contexit ex " titulis et inscriptionibus sacris, quæ in antiquissimis templis habebantur, " maximeque in fano Jovis Triphyllii, ubi auream columnam positam " esse ab ipso Jove, titulus indicabat, in quâ columnâ gesta sua prescripsit " ut monimentum esset posteris rerum suarum." Ce récit de Lactance diffère un peu de celui de Diodore.

120 Diodore de Sicile, L. v. c. 29, 30. et L. vi.

Il y a sur Ephémère une dissertation de M. Fourmont l'aîné, qui contient des conjectures très-hardies, et des emportemens fort plaisans (2). Il

(1) Dans le Mém. de l'Acad. tom. v. xviii. xx. xxiii.

(2) Mém. de Littér. tom. xv. p. 265, &c.

ſied mal à un jeune homme de mépriſer quoi que ce ſoit, mais je ne ſaurois réfuter cette pièce ſérieuſement. Celui qui ne voit pas que la Panchaïe décrite dans Diodore de Sicile étoit ſituée au midi de la Gédroſie, et à l'occident peu éloignée de la péninſule des Indes, peut croire avec M. Fourmont que le Golfe Arabique eſt au midi de l'Arabie heureuſe, que le païs de Phauk ſur le continent eſt l'iſle de Panchaïe, que le déſert de Pharan eſt le plus beau lieu du monde, et que la ville de Pierie en Syrie eſt la capitale d'un petit canton aux environs de Medine.

[121] Callim. ap. Plut. tom. ii. p. 880. Eratoſth. et Polyb. ap. Strab. Georg. L. ii. p. 102, 103. et L. vii. p. 299. edit. Caſaub.

[122] Gerard Voſſius de Hiſtor. Græcis, L. i. c. xi. fait voir que non ſeulement les Payens lui donnoient ce nom, mais encore Theophile d'Antioche parmi les Chrétiens et Joſeph parmi les Juifs; ce qui fait voir qu'Ephémère en attaquant les dieux des Grecs, n'en reconnoiſſoit point d'autres.

[123] Lactant. Inſtit. L. i. c. p. 65. Lucian Timon, p. 34. et Jupit. Frag. p. 701. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. L. iii. c. 21.

[124] Callimach. Hym. in Jovem, v. 8. et Scholiaſt. Vet. in loc. edit. Græc.

[125] Tel eſt le récit du ſcholiaſte adopté par le Chevalier Newton. Mais Lactance rapporte l'inſcription ΖΑΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΥ, ce qui m'a l'air bien plus antique. Lucien, car les fables vont toujours en augmentant, nous apprend, que l'inſcription portoit que Jupiter ne tonnoit plus, qu'il avoit ſubi le ſort des mortels, δηλωσαν ὡς ηκετι βροντησειεν αν ο Ζευς, τεθνεως παλαι.

[126] Diodore de Sicile dans les cinq premiers livres, paſſim.

[127] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. L. iii. c. 21.

[128] Plin. Hiſt. Natur. L. vii. c. 51. et paſſ.

[129] Plut. de Placit. Philoſoph. de Iſid. et Oſirid.

[130] Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xii. p. 36. Plin. Epiſt. L. viii. Epiſt. 8.

[131] Hor Carm. L. iii. Od. 3.

" ——— Neque Auſter
" Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ."

[132] Remarquez que cet Oſiris et ſa ſœur étoient les plus jeunes des dieux. Il avoit fallu aux Egyptiens, un grand nombre de ſiècles, pour parvenir à cette ſimplicité (1).

[133] Le culte du ſoleil a été connu de tous les peuples. Je dirai ce qui m'en paroit la raiſon. C'eſt peut-être le ſeul objet de l'univers à la fois ſenſible et unique. Senſible à tous les peuples, de la manière la plus brillante et la plus bienfaiſante, il enlevoit leurs hommages. Unique et indiviſible, les raiſonneurs qui n'étoient pas trop difficiles trouvoient en lui tous les grands traits de la divinité.

[134] Je ne ſuis pas trop content de cet endroit. Je donne la meilleure raiſon que j'ai pu trouver; mais il me ſemble que dans ces premiers ſiècles, on

(1) Diodore de Sicile, L. i. c. 8.

eût dû être guidé par le ſentiment, et le ſentiment eſt tout entier du côté de la liberté

135 Homer. Iliad. L. iv. v. 93, &c.

136 Αλλ' ετι ταυτη τον δ' ερωτα χρη πεσειν.
Δειξω δε Θησει πραγμα, καὐκφανησεται.
Και τον μεν ημιν πολεμιον πεφυκοτα
Κτενει πατηρ αρασι, ...
Η δ' ευκλεης μεν, αλλ' ομως απολλυται
Φαιδρα ——— (1).

137 J'entens chez les Grecs; ſon culte ſe conſerva long-temps en Italie.

138 Fontenelle dans l'Eloge de M. de Leibnitz.

139 Herodot. L. v. c. 4, 5. Meziriac. Comm. ſur les Epitr. d'Ovide, tom. i. p. 162.

140 Herodot. L. iv. c. 64, 65.

141 M. de Vaugelas m'apprend que lorſqu'il s'agit de l'antiquité il faut toujours dire Cypre, quoique le nom moderne ſoit Chypre (2). Je vois que MM. de Fenelon (3) et de Vertot (4) on fait cette diſtinction.

142 Herod. L. v. c. 4, 5. Minuc. Fœl. Octav. c. 25. p. 258. Luc. Pharſ. L. i. Lactant. L. i. c. 25.

143 Strab. Geog. L. viii. p. 378.

144 Herod. L. i. c. 199.

Elles étoient tenues de ſe proſtituer une fois de leur vie au premier venu, dans le temple de Venus. M. de Voltaire, qui leur impoſe cette obligation une fois tous les ans, la traite de fable inſenſée (5). Cependant Hérodote avoit voyagé ſur les lieux, et M. de Voltaire a trop lu l'hiſtoire, pour ignorer combien de triomphes pareils la ſuperſtition a remportés ſur l'humanité et ſur la vertu. Que penſe-t-il d'un acte de foi? Je préviens ſa reponſe. Au reſte j'ignorois que Babylone fut la ville de l'univers la mieux policée. Quinte Curce la dépeint comme la plus licencieuſe; Béroſe le Babylonien ſe plaint lui-même que ſes concitoyens, franchiſſant toutes les barrières de la pudeur, vivoient à la manière des bêtes, et le ſcholiaſte de Juvenal nous fait ſentir que de ſon temps ils n'avoient point dégénérés (6).

145 Mythol. de Banier, tom. ii. p. 487. Ovid. Metam. L. xv.

146 Eurip. Hippolit. Act v. ver. 1327. et Ovid. Metam. paſſim.

147 Cic. de Nat. Deor, I. i. c. 27, 28.

(1) Euripid. Hippol. Act v. v. 40.
(2) Rem. de M. de Vaugelas ſur la langue Françoiſe, tom. i. p. 102, 103.
(3) Dans le Telemaque.
(4) Dans ſon Hiſt. de Malthe.
(5) Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. vi. p. 24.
(6) Quint. Curt. Geſt. Alex. L. v. c. 1. et Comment. Freinsheim. in Loc.

148 V. les Céſars de Julien par M. Spanheim, p. 257, 258. Rem. 876. les Oiſeaux d'Ariſtophane et Lucien preſque partout.

149 Hom. Iliad. L. i. v. 609.

150 Id. L. v. ver. 335.

151 Après la priſe de Peruſe il ſacrifia trois cents des principaux citoyens ſur un autel érigé à la divinité de ſon père. V. Suet. L. ii. c. 15.

152 Sueton. L. ii. c. 15.

153 Saluſt. Fragm. p. 404. Edit. Thyſ.

154 Freinsheim. Supplem. L. lxxxix. c. 26—33.

155 Tacit. Annal. L. iv. p. 109. Sueton. ubi infra.

156 J'attens avec impatience la ſuite des diſſertations ſur ce ſujet, que M. de la Bleterie nous a promiſes. Le ſyſtème d'Auguſte ſi ſouvent méconnu y paroitra deſſiné juſqu'à ſes moindres rameaux. Cet auteur penſe avec fineſſe et une aimable liberté, il diſcute ſans ſéchereſſe, et s'exprime avec toutes les graces d'un ſtyle clair et élégant. Peut-être que, Deſcartes de l'hiſtoire, il raiſonne un peu trop *à priori*, et qu'il établit ſes concluſions moins ſur des autorités particulières que ſur des inductions générales: mais ce défaut eſt celui d'un homme de beaucoup d'eſprit.

157 Toutes déductions faites de ſes legs au peuple et aux ſoldats, Auguſte ne laiſſa à Tibere et à Livie que millies quingenties, trente millions de livres. L'augure Lentulus mort ſous ſon regne, poſſédoit quater millies, quatre-vingt millions. V. Sueton. L. ii. c. 101. Senec. de Benefic. L. ii.

158 Quater decies millies, deux cens quatre vingt millions. V. Suet. Lo. citat. et marmor. Ancyran.

159 V. Monteſq. Conſid. ſur la Grandeur des Romains.

Je diſtingue la grandeur de l'empire Romain d'avec celle de la république: l'une conſiſtoit dans le nombre des provinces, l'autre dans celui des citoyens.

160 Vitellius envoya des galères juſqu'aux colonnes d'Hercule, pour chercher les poiſſons les plus rares, dont il remplit ce plat monſtrueux. Si nous en croyons M. Arbuthnot, il couta 765, 625l. ſterling. V. Sueton. in Vitellio. c. 13. Dr. Arbuthnot's Tables, p. 138.

161 Μετοπισθ' ατης αλεγυσι χιγσαι.
Homer. Iliad. L. ix. v. 500.

Notes on the Critical Obſervations on the Deſign of the Sixth Book of the Æneid.

1 See Warburton's Diſſertations, &c. in the third volume of Mr. Warton's Virgil. I ſhall quote indifferently that Diſſertation or the Divine Legation itſelf.

2 At leaſt of the vulgar polytheiſm, by revealing that the *dii majorum gentium* had been mere mortals.

[3] From their inſtitution, 1399 years before the Chriſtian æra, (Marm. Arundel. Ep. 14.) till their ſuppreſſion, towards the end of the fourth century.

[4] Though I hate to be poſitive, yet I would almoſt venture to affirm, that Zoroaſter's connexion with Egypt is no where to be found, except in the *D. L.*

[5] See a liſt of four hundred authors, quoted, &c. in the *D. L.* from St. Auſtin and Ariſtotle, down to Scarron and Rabelais. Amongſt theſe authors we may obſerve Sanchoniatho, Orpheus, Zaleucus, Charondas, the Oracles of Porphyry, and the Hiſtory of Jeffrey of Monmouth.

The biſhop has entered the liſts with the tremendous Bentley, who treated the laws of Zaleucus and Charondas as the forgeries of a ſophiſt. A whole ſection of miſtakes or miſrepreſentations is devoted to this controverſy: but Bentley is no more, and W——n may ſleep in peace.

I ſhall, however, diſturb his repoſe, by asking him on what authority he ſuppoſes that the old language of the Twelve Tables was altered for the convenience of ſucceeding ages. The fragments of thoſe laws, collected by Lipſius, Sylburgius, &c. bear the ſtamp of the moſt remote antiquity. Lipſius himſelf (tom. i. p. 206) was highly delighted with thoſe *antiquiſſima verba:* but what is much more deciſive, Horace (L. ii. Ep. i. ver. 23), Seneca (Epiſtol. 114), and Aulus Gellius (XX. 1), rank thoſe laws amongſt the oldeſt remains of the Latin tongue. Their obſolete language was amired by the lawyers, ridiculed by the wits, and pleaded by the friends of antiquity as an excuſe for the frequent obſcurities of that code.

Had an adverſary to the *Divine Legation* been guilty of this miſtake, I am afraid it would have been ſtyled an *egregious blunder.*

[6] See Vandale de Oraculis, p. 559. That valuable book contains whatever can now be known of oracles. I have borrowed his facts; and could with great eaſe have borrowed his quotations.

[7] The prophet Alexander, whoſe arts are ſo admirably laid open by Lucian, inſtituted his oracle and his myſteries as regular parts of the ſame plan. It is here we may ſay, with the learned catholic, "Les nouveaux "Saints me font douter des anciens."

[8] See Diogen. Laert. vi. 39. and Menag. ad loc.

[9] I ſhall ſum them up in a curious paſſage of the celebrated Freret. "Les "ſectes philoſophiques cherchoient à deviner le dogme caché ſous le voile "des ceremonies; et tâchoient de le ramener chacune à leur doctrine. "Dans l'hypothèſe des Epicuriens, adoptée de nos jours par MM. Leclerc "et Warburton," (Leclerc *adopted* it in the year 1687; M. Warburton *invented* it in the year 1738,) "tout ce qu'on révéloit aux adeptes après "tant de préparatifs et d'épreuves, c'eſt que les dieux adorés du vulgaire, "avoient été des hommes, &c. Les Stoiciens et les Hylozoiſtes ſuppoſoient "qu'on enſeignoit aux Initiés, qu'il n'y avoit d'autres dieux que les "élémens et les parties du l'univers matériel. Enfin ſuivant les nouveaux "Platoniciens, ces ſymboles ſervoient à couvrir les dogmes d'une "théologie et d'une philoſophie ſublimes, enſeignées autrefois par les

"Egyptiens et les Chaldéens." M. Freret inclines, though with great diffidence, to the laſt opinion. *Mém. de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, &c. tom.* xxi. *p.* 12. *Hiſt.*

[10] Je ne ſuis pas ſi convaincu de notre ignorance par les choſes qui ſont, et dont la raiſon nous eſt inconnue; que par celles qui ne ſont point et dont nous trouvons la raiſon. *Oeuvres de Fontenelle, tom.* xi. *p.* 229.]

[11] *The Fragment of Sanchoniatho's Phœnician Hiſtory.* Euſebius and Bishop Cumberland have already obſerved, that the formation of the world is there attributed to the blind powers of matter, without the leaſt mention of an intelligent cauſe.

[12] *Orpheus's Hymn to Muſæus*, quoted by Juſtin Martyr, and ſeveral other fathers, but rejected as ſpurious by Cudworth (Intellectual Syſtem, p. 309,) by Leclerc (Hiſt. Eccl. p. 692), and by Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. vol. i. p. 199). The firſt of theſe, the *immortal Cudworth*, is often celebrated by the Biſhop of Glouceſter; Leclerc's literary character is eſtabliſhed; and with reſpect to Dr. Jortin, I will venture to call him a learned and moderate critic. The few who may not chuſe to confeſs, that their objections are unanſwerable, will allow that they deſerve to be anſwered.

[13] Æneid, i. 548.

[14] M. de Voltaire condemns the latter part of the Æneid, as far inferior in fire and ſpirit to the former. As quoted in the *Legation*, he thinks that Virgil

—— s'épuiſe avec Didon et rate à la fin Lavinie;

a pretty odd quotation for a Biſhop; but I moſt ſincerely hope, that neither his lordſhip nor Mrs. W——n are acquainted with the true meaning of the word *rater*.

[15] Æneid, viii. 495.

[16] Ibidem, i. 96.

[17] Ibidem, ii. 313.

[18] Ibidem, ii. 431.

[19] Ibidem, xii. 464.

[20] Ibidem, xii. 497.

[21] Others are furniſhed by criticiſm with a *teleſcope*. They ſee with great clearneſs whatever is too remote to be diſcovered by the reſt of mankind; but are totally blind to all that lies immediately before them. They diſcover in every paſſage ſome ſecret meaning, ſome remote alluſion, ſome artful allegory, or ſome occult imitation, which no other reader ever ſuſpected: but they have no perception of the cogency of arguments, the contexture of narration, the various colors of diction, or the flowery embelliſhments of fancy. Of all that engages the attention of others they are totally inſenſible; while they pry into the world of conjectures, and amuſe themſelves with phantoms in the clouds. *Rambler.*

[22] D. L. vol. i. p. 212.

[23] Æneid, iii. 137.

[24] Ibidem, v. 755.

25 Æneid, xii. 189.

26 Oeuvres de Monteſquieu, tom. iii. p. 555.

27 D. L. vol. i. p. 228.

28 Plutarch, in Vit. M. Anton. tom. i. 950. edit. Wechel.

29 Plutarch, in Vit. Theſei, tom. i. p. 16. Herodot. viii. 65. Cicero de Nat. Deor. i. 42. The gradation of Athenians, Greeks, and mankind at large, may be traced in theſe paſſages.

30 D. L. vol. i. p. 233.

31 Chilius te rogat, et ego ejus rogatû; ευμολπιδων πατρια. *Cicero ad Attic.* i. 9.

32 As the B. of G. alledges the authority of Victorius, I shall shelter myself under the names and reaſons of Grœvius and the Abbé Mongault, and even tranſcribe the words of the former. "Non eſt ut hic intelligantur ritus illi " ſecretiores, qui tantùm myſtis noti erant, et ſine capitis periculo vulgari " non poterant, ſed illa ſacra et ceremoniæ, quibus in Eleuſiniis celebrandis " utebantur in omnium oculis Eumolpidæ; quaſque poetæ et prisci " ſcriptores alii commemorant paſſim: aut fortè per Eumolpidas intelligi " tectè ipſos Athenienſes: ut petierit Chilius, Athenienſium legum et " diſciplinam ſibi deſcribi et mitti."

33 D. L. vol. i. p. 154.

34 Ibidem, p. 277.

35 Æneid, vi. 724.

36 Quomodo porro Deus iſte, ſi nihil eſſet niſi animus, aut infixus aut *infuſus* eſſet in mundo. *Cicero de Naturâ Deor.* L. i. c. 11.

37 Pope's Eſſay on Man, epiſtle i. ver. 267.

38 D. L. vol. i. p. 278.

39 Ibidem, p. 279.

40 Ibidem, p. 142.

41 See our modern relations of Japan, China, India, &c. and for Egypt Herodotus, L. ii.

42 Ovid. Metamorph. xv. 66, &c. 158, &c.

43 Plato in Phædro and in Republic. L. x.

44 I shall mention here, once for all, that I do not always confine myself to the ORDER of his lordship's PROOFS.

45 Meurſii Eleuſinia, ſive de Cereris Eleuſinæ ſacro.

46 See D. L. vol. i. particularly. p. 280.

47 Strabo, L. vi. p. 168.

48 Silius Italicus, L. xii.

49 Diod. Sicul. L. iv. p. 267. edit. Weſſeling.

50 Æneid, vi. 126.

51 Ibidem, vi. 129.

52 Ibidem, vi. 396.

53 Homer, Odyſſ. L. xi. ver. 623. Apoll. Biblioth. L. ii. c. 5.

54 Diodor. Sicul. L. v. p. 386. Edit. Weſſeling.

55 Leclerc, Biblioth. Univerſelle, tom. vi. p. 55.

56 By the Abbé Teraſſon, in his philoſophical romance of Sethos, pri-

t Amſterdam in the year 1732. See the third book, from beginning to end. The author was a ſcholar and a philoſopher. His book has far more variety nd originality than Telemachus. Yet Sethos is forgotten, and Telemachus will be immortal. That harmony of ſtyle, and the great talent of ſpeaking o the heart and paſſions, which Fenelon poſſeſſed, was unknown to Teraſſon. I am not ſurpriſed that Homer was admired by the one, and riticized by the other.

57 See D. L. vol. I. p. 228, &c. The firſt edition was printed in London, n the year 1738.

58 Cowper's Life of Socrates, p. 102.

59 Letter from a late profeſſor of Oxford, &c. p. 133.

60 D. L. vol. III. p. 277.

61 Idem, vol. I. p. 229.

62 Idem, vol. I. p. 283.

63 Horace ſeems to have uſed as unguarded an expreſſion:

Et adſcribi *quietis*
Ordinibus patiar deorum. *Od. L. iii.* 3.

he word and idea of *Quietus* are perfectly Epicurean; but rather clash ith the active paſſions diſplayed in the reſt of Juno's ſpeech. His lordship (D. L. vol. II p. 140.) accuſes Virgil himſelf of a like attention; which, with his uſual gentleneſs, he calls an *abſurdity*.

64 See the Life of Virgil by Donatus, the Sixth Eclogue, and the Second eorgic, v. 490.

65 Lucian in Alexandro, p. 489.

66 Cornel. Nepos, in Vit. Attici, c. 2, 3, 4.

67 The life of Virgil, attributed to Donatus, contains many characteriſtic rticulars; but which are loſt in confuſion, and diſgraced with a mixture abſurd ſtories, ſuch as none but a monk of the darker ages could either vent or believe. I always conſidered them as the interpolations of ſome ore recent writer; and am confirmed in that opinion by the life of Virgil, re from thoſe additions which Mr. Spence lately published, from a orence MS. at the beginning of Mr. Holdſworth's valuable obſervations Virgil.

68 Horat. L. II. Ep. ii. ver. 43.

69 Donat. in Virgil.

70 Horat. L. IV. Od. xii.

71 Donat. in Virgil.

72 Prope *Centies Seſtertium*, about eighty thouſand pounds.

73 Donat. in Virgil.

74 Id. ibid.

75 They always began the fifteenth of the Attic month Boedromion, and ed nine days. Thoſe who take the trouble of calculating the Athenian ndar, on the principles laid down by Mr. Dodwell (de Cyclis Antiquis) by Dr. Halley, will find, that A. V. C. Varr. 735, the 15th of dromion coincided with the 24th of Auguſt of the Julian year. But if may believe Dion Caſſius, the celebration was this year anticipated,

on account of Auguſtus and the Indian philoſopher. L. LIV. p. 739. edit. Reimar.

[76] Strabo, L. xv. p. 720.

[77] Donat. in Virgil.

[78] D. L. vol. I. p. 118.

[79] Salmaſius ad Scriptores Hiſt. Auguſt. p. 55.

[80] Caſaubon ad Scriptor. Hiſt. Auguſt. p. 25.

[81] Sueton. in Claud. c. 25.

[82] D. L. vol. I. p. 147.

[83] Ibidem, p. 240.

[84] Ibidem, p. 277.

[85] Horat. L. III. Od. ii.

[86] Boileau, Art Poetique, L. ii. v. 72.

[87] *Curioſa Felicitas.* The ingenious Dr. Warton has a very ſtrong diſlike to this celebrated character of Horace. I ſuſpect that I am in the wrong, ſince, in a point of criticiſm, I differ from Dr. Warton. I cannot, however, forbear thinking, that the expreſſion *is itſelf* what Petronius wished to deſcribe; the happy union of ſuch eaſe as ſeems the gift of fortune, with ſuch juſtneſs as can only be the reſult of care and labor.

[88] Sueton. in Cæſar, c. 44.

[89] Plut. in Vit. Anton. Julian in Cæſar, p. 324. edit. Spanheim.

[90] Horat. L. I. Od. ii. L. III. Od. v. L. II. Serm. i. v. 15, &c.

[91] Horat. L. i. Epiſt. xii. Vell. Pater. L. ii. c. xciv. Tacit. Annal. L. ii. c. i. Sueton. in Octav. c. xxi. and in Tiber. c. xiv. Juſtin, L. xlii. c. 1. Dion Caſſius, L. liv. p. 736. edit. Reimar. Joſeph. Ant. L. xv. c. v. Ovid. Faſt. v. ver. 551, &c.

[92] Donat. in Virgil.

[93] Marcellus died in the latter end of the year 731. *Uſſerii Annales*, p. 555.

[94] Donat. in Virgil.

[95] Propert. L. ii. El. xxv. v. 66.

[96] Horat. L. i. Od. iii. L. i. Serm. v. ver. 39, &c.

[97] See the Dedication of Horace's Epiſtle to Auguſtus, with an Engliſh commentary and notes.

[98] Six Diſſertations on different Subjects, published in a volume in octavo, in the year 1755. It is the Sixth Diſſertation, p. 207—324.

Notes to the Vindication of the Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall.

1 Davis, Preface, p. ii.
2 Ibidem, p. iii.
3 Davis, p. 282, 283.
4 Ibidem, 284.
5 Davis, Preface, p. ii.
6 Ibidem. p. 230.
7 Gibbon's Hiſtory, vol. xiii. p. 95. *n.* 36.
8 Davis, p. 144.
9 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 104. *n.* 137.
10 Davis, p. 230.
11 Ibidem, p. 73.
12 Ibidem, p. 132—136.
13 Ibidem, p. 151—155.
14 Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 221.
15 Davis, p. 5.
16 Ibidem, p. 2—12.
17 Ibidem, p. 3.
18 Ibidem p. 2.
19 Ibidem, p. 6.
20 Ibidem, p. 4.
21 Ibidem, p. 8.
22 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 92. Note 1, 2.
23 Davis, p. 10, 11. 20.
24 Remarks, p. 1.
25 Gibbon, vol. i. p. 32.
26 Davis, p. 25.
27 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 96. *n.* 40.
28 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 97. *n.* 58.
29 Davis, p. 19.
30 Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 252.
31 Davis, p. 29 — 33.
32 Id. p. 35, 36.
33 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 106. *n.* 172.
34 Id. p. 99. *n.* 72.
35 Davis, p. 145.
36 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 58. *n.* 67.
37 Davis, p. 40 — 44.
38 Id. p. 270.
39 By Mr. Davis, p. 41. and by Dr. Chelſum, Remarks, p. 57.
40 Davis, p. 44.
41 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 102. *n.* 110.

[42] Davis, p. 44, 45.
[43] Gibbon, vol. xiii. 116. *n.* 75.
[44] Davis, p. 61, 62, 63. This ridiculous charge is repeated by another *sycophant*, (in the Greek sense of the word,) and forms one of the *valuable* communications, which the learning of a Randolph suggested to the candor of a Chelsum. See Remarks, p. 209.
[45] Davis, p. 64, 65.
[46] Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 125. *n.* 163.
[47] Davis, p. 66.
[48] Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 121. *n.* 125.
[49] Id. vol. ii. p. 362.
[50] Davis, p. 71, 72.
[51] Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 121. *n.* 133, 134.
[52] Davis, p. 75. 76.
[53] Id. p. 83.
[54] Id. p. 11.
[55] Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 317.
[56] Id. vol. xiii. p. 119. *n.* 107.
[57] Davis, p. 81.
[58] Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 111. *n.* 24.
[59] Id. p. 118. *n.* 102.
[60] Davis, p. 87, 88.
[61] Id. p. 88. 90. 137.
[62] Id. p. 100, 101.
[63] Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 95. *n.* 35.
[64] Davis, p. 95 — 97. 104 — 107. 114 — 132.
[65] Id. p. 127.
[66] Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 305.
[67] Davis, p. 126, 127.
[68] Id. p. 131.
[69] Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 121. *n.* 132.
[70] Davis, p. 132.
[71] Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 105. *n.* 156.
[72] Davis, p. 136, 137.
[73] Dr. Randolph, in Chelsum's Remarks, p. 159, 160.
[74] Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 106. *n.* 157.
[75] Davis, p. 140.
[76] Id p. 168 — 274.
[77] Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 105. *n.* 156. p. 106. *n.* 161. p. 125. *n.* 164. 126. *n.* 178.
[78] Davis, p. 273.
[79] Watson's Apology for Christianity, p. 209.
[80] Id. p. 202 — 268.
[81] Id. p. 5.
[82] Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 320.
[83] Watson, p. 185.

84 Gibbon, vol. ii. 351. Chelsum, p. 132 — 139.
85 Gibbon, vol. ii p. 275. Randolph in Chelsum, p. 122.
86 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 95. *n.* 33. Chelsum, p. 39.
87 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. p. 99. *n.* 70. Chelsum, p. 66.
88 Chelsum's Remarks, p. 13—19. 67—91. 180—185.
89 Chelsum, p. 15.
90 Id. p. 73.
91 Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 269.
92 Id. p. 379.
93 Chelsum, p. 118, 119.
94 Id. p. 188.
95 Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 341.
96 Chelsum, p. 118.
97 Id. p. 114 — 117.
98 Id. p 113.
99 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 116. *n.* 74.
100 Remarks, p. 65, 66, 67.
101 P. ii. iii.
102 Chelsum and Randolph, p. 220 — 238.
103 Gibbon, p. 653. Chelsum, p. 204—207.
104 Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 350.
105 Chelsum, p. 232.
106 Id. p. 228. 231.
107 Id. p. 229, 230, 231.
108 Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 401.
109 Chelsum, p. 234.
110 Id. p. 226, 227.
111 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 126. *n.* 178.
112 Chelsum and Randolph, p. 236, 237, 238.
113 Remarks, p. 100.
114 Id. p. 15.
115 Id. p. 111.
116 Id. p. 72—88.
117 Id. p. 90, 91.
118 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 118. *n.* 91.

Note to the Addreſs.

* I allude to a paſſage in Cicero (de Naturâ Deorum, L. ii. C. 34.) Quod ſi in Britanniam, ſphæram aliquis tulerit hanc, quam nuper familiaris noſter effecit Poſidonius, cujus ſingulæ converſiones idem efficiunt in ſole et in luna, et in quinque ſtellis errantibus, quod efficitur in cœlo ſingulis diebus et noctibus: quis in illa barbarie dubitet, quin ea ſphæra ſit perfecta ratione?

TRANSLATION

OF THE

NOTES.

To page 182. *Note* [19]. WERE we curious to ascertain exactly the date of this epigram, a passage of Cicero would lead us to fix it at the year 708. For, notwithstanding Bayle's reasonings, we cannot regard it in any other light than that of a satire written against Mamurra; an opinion embraced by the learned Dr. Middleton. There is no weight in the observation, that Catullus would not have ventured to write this epigram against Cæsar in the plenitude of his power. Cæsar's clemency towards his enemies is well known; and the terms in which historians speak of his lenity shown to this satirist implies that he was then possessed of power to punish him; otherwise his moderation would have been of little value. Tacitus speaks of this affair as a parallel to that of Bibalculus, who satirised Augustus when the latter was certainly invested with sovereign dominion.

To page 183. *Note* [31]. This explanation is the more probable, because Virgil appears in his works to value himself rather on reviving old words, than on borrowing new ones from the Greek. I doubt whether a single passage can be pointed out, in which he followed Horace's advice.

To page 185. *Note* [2]. I meditate a history of the expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy; an event which changed the face of Europe. Should I ever undertake such a work, these researches will find their place in it, but written with more care and precision. At present, both leisure and books are wanting; for which reason, being unable to cite the original historians, I think it better to trust to the notoriety of the transactions, than to refer the reader to compilations.

Ibid Note [4]. The following is an example where the same reasoning occurred. Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned to death for treason. After a confinement of many years in prison, he received from James I. the command of a fleet to be employed in discovering a gold mine in South-America. The enterprise failed; and, at Sir Walter's return home, James ordered his head to be cut off, according to the sentence formerly passed against him. The nation murmured loudly, asserting that the commission of admiral was equivalent to a formal pardon, since it was impossible to bestow that authority and confidence on a traitor condemned to death.

Ibid. Note [5]. This question depends on the same principles with that of adoption, which I shall shortly examine.

Ibid. Note [6]. This question was much agitated half a century ago, in the business of the Spanish succession, which Lewis XIV. renounced by the treaty of the Pyrenees, but which his family afterwards claimed and vindicated.

To page 185. *Note* [7]. We ſometimes read in old charters Ego——baſtardus. The appellative became a ſurname. In the time of Philip Comines, there was little diſtinction made in Italy between natural and legitimate children.

Ibid. Note [8]. In the XIth century, William the Conqueror; and in the XIVth, Henry of Traſtamare, and John Grand Maſter of the Order of Avis, were all baſtards.

Ibid. Note [9]. Obſerve the equivocal conduct of Lewis IX. He blamed the pope's ſeverity; he endeavoured to make peace; but the council of Lyons he always conſidered as a tribunal from which Frederick was not entitled to appeal.

Ibid. Note [11]. In my compilation the conſent of the ſtates to this adoption is not mentioned. This, however, was a very eſſential circumſtance. But I have ſince found, that the accurate Giannone is alſo ſilent reſpecting it.

To page 187. *Note* [2]. The tranſlation appears to be ſuperior to the original.

Ibid. Note [5]. I mean thoſe of his own times.

Ibid. Note [10]. We muſt remember that the ſlaves were numerous in great families.

Ibid Note [11]. See concerning the whole queſtion, *Lipſ. ad Tacit. Annal. xv. Nardini Roma vetus, L. iii. C. iv. p.* 985, 986, 987: *et Græv in Præfat. ad tom. iv. Theſaur. Antiq. Roman.* I have availed myſelf of all their quotations.

Ibid. Note [13]. *Poſt Capitolinam*, according to the edition of Delcampius. I ſhould like to conſult that of Hardouin. Nardini erroneously reads *poſt capitolium*. Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l. xxxiii. 1.

Ibid. Note [15]. He refers to it himſelf, V. L. v. C. x. p. 1028.

Ibid Note [20]. As to the breadth of the circus, Pliny himſelf expreſsly confirms this explanation.

Ibid Note [21]. The Roman, English, and Paris foot, are in the proportion of 1306, 1351 1/2, and 1440. The firſt contains nearly 11 3/5 inches of English, and 10 7/8 of French meaſure. *Traité des Meſures*, &c. p. 164. After attentively reflecting on the ſubject, I prefer allowing to each perſon 2 1/4 feet. This will give 120,000 perſons who were ſeated, and 30,000 who ſtood in the porticos. There is ſtill ſomething to be ſaid concerning Mr D'Anville's meaſurement of the circus; but this will be better deferred, until I have viſited Rome.

Florence, 11th July, 1764.

To page 188. *Note* [22]. The moſt judicious edition of the modern Victor is that publiſhed by Panvinius. The numerous additions are juſtly deſpiſed as the work of an impoſtor. *Nardini Roma Vetus, L. ii. C. v. p.* 956.

Ibid Note [30]. The navigation was only ſixteen Roman miles.

Ibid. Note [31]. Voſſius, p. 1514——1515. His calculations are, as uſual, ſomewhat confuſed; but I give the reſult as ſtated by himſelf.

Ibid. Note [41]. He decides not the famous queſtion concerning the origin of the Goths.

Ibid. Note [45]. See the origin of the Nations of Italy, in the eighteenth volume of the Hiſtory of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

To page 189. *Note* [56]. The paſſage by the Pennine Alps was, however, the ſhorteſt; here the mountains are much narrowed.

Ibid. Note [58] I have copied nothing from Cluverius, except his general concluſion, very differently modified. I have cited but few authorities. The only important citations, which ſuperſede all others, are the twenty-firſt book of Livy, the third book of Polybius, and the thirty-third chapter of the firſt book of Cluverius.

Ibid. Note [72]. I have ſince diſcovered that the etymology of *Pompeii* is uncertain, and that I was right in my conjecture of its having been beſieged. *V. Vell. Patercul. L. ii. C.* 16.

Ibid. Note [76]. Vell. Paterculus, L. ii. C. 16. The *Minatius Magius* there ſpoken of, belonged to the very city which began the war, by the murder of a pretor and a legate.

Ibid. Note [77]. See Reflection on Ancient Nations, by Mr. Freret, in the eighteenth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Letters.

Ibid. Note [78]. T. Livius, L. xxii. C. 36. It appears from ſeveral paſſages of this author, that this was the ordinary proportion. Velleius Paterculus exaggerates a little, when he ſpeaks of double the number of troops. L. ii. C. 15.

Ibid. Note [54]. I except his invective againſt Stilico, L. ii. v. 41.

To page 190. *Note* [22]. The whole journey is deſcribed in the fifth Satire of the firſt book of Horace.

To page 190. *Note* [28]. For the detail of this voyage it is proper to peruſe the epiſtles to Atticus, L. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10. The Hiſtory of Cicero, by Fabricius, and by Middleton, the year of Rome 702.

Ibid. Note [29]. All the diſtances not noticed in the Itineraries, I have meaſured on the chart of M. Delisle.

Ibid. Note [35]. Itineraria Anton. p. 312, 313, 314, 315. I have meaſured on the chart of Delisle the diſtance from Canuſium to Larinum.

Ibid. Note [48] Onuphr. Panvin. on Triumphs. The number is taken from Oroſius.

Ibid. Note [53]. I can only cite the authority of Livy and the Faſti of the ſixth and ſeventh centuries of Rome.

Ibid. Note [78]. I meaſured the diſtance on Nolli's great map of Rome.

To page 192. *Note* [8]. This age was that of thoſe philoſophical ſects, who battled for the ſyſtems of their reſpective maſters, with all the obſtinacy of polemical divines.

A fondneſs for ſyſtems neceſſarily produces an attachment to general principles, and this of courſe brings on a contempt for an attention to particulars.

"The fondneſs for ſyſtem (ſays Mr. Freret) which poſſeſſed the ſucceſ-
"ſors of Ariſtotle, made the Greeks abandon the ſtudy of nature, and
"ſtopped the progreſs of their philoſophical diſcoveries. Subtlety of
"argument took place of experiment; the accurate ſciences, Geometry,

" Aſtronomy, and the true Philoſophy diſappeared almoſt entirely. None " gave themſelves the trouble to acquire new principles; but all were " employed in ranging, combining, and modelling thoſe, they imagined " they knew, into ſyſtems. Hence aroſe ſo many different ſects. The " greateſt geniuſes loſt themſelves in the abſtruſeneſs and obſcurity of " Metaphyſics, wherein words generally ſupplied the place of things; " and thus Logic, denominated by Ariſtotle an implement of the under- " ſtanding, became among his followers the principal, and almoſt the " ſole, object of their attention. Their whole lives were ſpent in ſtudying " the art of reaſoning, without ever reaſoning at all; or at leaſt without " reaſoning on any other than trivial and unimportant ſubjects."

Mém. de l'Acad. des B. L. tom. vi. p. 150.

Ibid. Note [9] By turning over the Latin Bibliotheque of Fabricius, the beſt of mere compilers, we ſhall ſee that in the ſpace of forty years after the invention of printing, almoſt all the Latin authors iſſued from the preſs, ſome of them more than once. It is true, the taſte of the editors was by no means equal to their zeal. The writers of the Auguſtan hiſtory appeared before Livy; and an edition of Aulus-Gellius was given before any body thought of Virgil.

Ibid. Note [10]. Æſchylus has written a tragedy, wherein he has painted, in the moſt lively colors, the triumph of the Greeks and the conſternation of the Perſians, after that fatal battle. See le Théâtre des Grecs du P. Brumoy, tom. ii. p. 171, &c.

To page 193. *Note* [11]. The preſident Henault, in ſpeaking of that Princeſs, ſays, "She was a great ſcholar: and that, being one day in " converſation with Calignon, afterwards Chancellor of Navarre, she " showed him a Latin translation she had made of ſome tragedies of " Sophocles, and of two orations of Demoſthenes. She permitted him " alſo to take a copy of a Greek epigram of her own compoſition; and " asked his opinion concerning ſome paſſages of Lycophron, which she " had then in her hands, and from which she intended to translate ſome " particular parts." Abrég. Chronolog. 4to. Paris, 1752. p. 397.

Ibid. Note [12]. Mr. Le Clerc, in his excellent treatiſe on the art of criticiſm, and in many other of his works.

Ibid. Note [14]. Fontenelle in his digreſſion concerning the ancients and moderns, and elſewhere. Oeuvres de Greſſet. tom. ii. p. 45.

Ibid. Note [16]. Newton diſcovered miſtakes of 5 or 6 hundred years in the common Chronology and reformed it accordingly. See my critical remarks on that Chronology

Ibid. Note [17]. See the life of Leibnitz, by the Neufville, prefixed to his Theodocea.

Ibid. Note [18]. I did not here ſeek for an opportunity of paying a compli- ment to his Royal Highneſs, the Duke of Cumberland, whoſe birth and rank I reſpect, without preſuming to judge of his military talents. If it be conſidered that the following lines are taken from a poem on the battle of Fontenoy, the reader will ſee, it is rather Mr. Voltaire than myſelf that here ſpeaks.

To page 193. *Note* [20]. See Thucydides, book iii. alſo Diodorus Siculus, from the xith book to the xxth, almoſt throughout. Alſo the Preface of the Abbé Teraſſon to the 3d vol. of his translation of Diodorus Siculus.—Alſo Hume's Political Eſſays.

Ibid. Note [21]. See the pieces of Huet and Deſpreaux, in the 3d vol. of the works of the latter.

To page 194. *Note* [22]. The golden compaſſes, with which the Creator, in Milton, meaſures the univerſe, excite ſurpriſe. Perhaps, however, it is puerile in him; though ſuch an image had been truly ſublime in Homer. Our philoſophical ideas of the Deity are injurious to the Poet. The ſame attributes debaſe our Divinity which would have extolled the Jupiter of the Greek. The ſublime genius of Milton was cramped by the ſyſtem of our religion, and never appeared to ſo great an advantage as when he ſhook it a little off; while on the contrary, Propertius, a cold and inſipid declaimer, owes all his reputation to the agreeable pictures of his Mythology.

Ibid. Note [26]. The *Cupedinarii* Terence ſpeaks of, diſprove not the truth of this reflection. That word, though we ſhould not adopt the conjecture of Saumaiſe, was become from a proper name an appellative. See Terence Eunuch, act. ii. ſc. 2.

Ibid. Note [27]. See the Diſſertations of Mr de la Bleterie on the authority of the Emperors, in the Memoirs of the academy of Belles-Lettres.

To page 195. *Note* [31]. Nothing is more difficult for a writer, educated in ſcenes of luxury, than to deſcribe ſimplicity without meanneſs. Read the epiſtle of Penelope, in Ovid, and you will be diſguſted with that ruſticity which gives ſo much delight, in Homer. In the writings of Madam Scudery, you will be as diſagreeably ſurpriſed to find, in the court of Tomyris, the ſplendor of that of Louis the XIVth. One muſt be formed for ſuch manners to hit off their genuine ſimplicity. Reflection has ſupplied the place of experience in Virgil, and perhaps in Fenelon. They knew it was neceſſary to elevate them a little, in conformity to the delicacy of their age and country; but they knew that delicacy would be ſhocked at too taudry embellishments.

Ibid. Note [36]. This rate allowed 3000 drachmas, or 12000 ſeſterces to every private foot-ſoldier, twice that ſum to each of the cavalry and to a centurion, and four times as much to a tribune. The Roman legion, after the augmentation made by Marius, conſiſted of 6000 infantry, and 300 horſe. This conſiderable corps, however, had but ſixty-ſix officers, that is ſixty centurions and ſix tribunes. So that the account ſtood thus.

	L. Sterling.
282,000 private men at 3000 drachma's or 12,000 ſeſterces, or 105 l. Sterling each	28,905,000
2,820 centurions and 14,100 horſe at 6000 drachmas, or 210 l. Sterling each	3,468,600
282 tribunes at 12,000 drachmas, or 410 l. each	115,620
Sum total L.	32,489,220

According to Dr. Arbuthnot's calculations, it should be only 30,705,220l. the drachma being worth only 7d. 3/4 English money. But, from the researches I have made, I find that the Attic drachma of later years, was equal to a Roman denier both in weight and value, and worth 8d. 1/5 of our money.

To page 169. *Note* [47]. One of those pirates on whom Pompey bestowed lands.

Ibidem. Note [52]. Historically so; the truth of their evidence, not of their opinions; the latter is in the province of logic rather than of criticism.

Ibidem. Note [53]. That is to say, authority combined with experience.

Ibidem. Note [54]. It is the elements of geometry and criticism that are here principally intended.

Ibidem. Note [55]. A clear and precise definition of the certainty in dispute might have abridged this controversy. "It was a historical certainty." This certainty, however, varies in different ages. Thus, I believe in general in the existence and exploits of Charlemaine; but my assurance thereof is not equal to that I have of the actions of Henry the Fourth.

To page 197. *Note* [63]. I shall say nothing of the fleet that appeared before Tarentum; as I imagine those vessels belonged to the inhabitants of Thuricum.

Ibidem. Note [65]. The celebrated Mr. Freret has offered a different hypothesis, agreeable enough for its simplicity; but it appears to me, not quite so reasonable.

Ibidem. Note [68]. In matters of geography and chronology no dependence is to be made on Ovid; that Poet being grossly ignorant in both these sciences. Read the description of the voyages of Medea; Metamorph. lib. vii. v. 350 to 402, and the xivth book of the same Metamorph. The one passage abounds with geographical errors, that offend even the commentators: and the other is full of chronological blunders.

Ibidem. Note [73]. It may, nevertheless, be doubted, whether this episode is so irreconcileable to chronological truth as has been imagined. According to the plausible system of Sir Isaac Newton, Æneas and Dido were cotemporaries. The Romans certainly ought to know the History of Carthage better than the Greeks. The archives of Carthage were removed to Rome. The Punic language was well enough understood there. The Romans readily consulted the Africans concerning their origin. Besides, Virgil adopts a chronology more agreeable to the computations of a Newton than to those of Eratosthenes, which is of itself a sufficient disculpation. My readers will not be displeased, perhaps, to see the proofs of what is here advanced. Seven years hardly pacified the anger of Juno, and finished the wanderings of Æneas. At least so Dido informs me. He arrived, some months after, in the Tiber; where the Deity of the stream appeared to him, foretold his future battles, and gave him hopes of a glorious end to his misfortunes. A prodigy confirmed the truth of the oracle. A sow, that had just littered, appeared on the banks of the river, with her thirty pigs; expressive of the number of years before the young Ascanius would lay the foundation of

Alba; This city continued three hundred years the ſeat of empire, and the nurſery of the Romans.

Theſe are the expreſſions Virgil has put in the mouth of Jupiter. But our chronologiſts give themſelves no concern to make the Thunderer keep his word. They repreſent the city of Alba as deſtroyed by Tullus Hoſtilius almoſt 500 years after its foundation, and about 100 years after that of Rome. The ſyſtem of Sir Iſaac Newton, however, makes all eaſy. The deſtruction of Troy, placed in the year 904, and followed by an interval of 337 years, brings us down to 567, 60 years after the Palilia, an epoch that agrees much better with the reign of the third ſucceſſor of Romulus. There is an ancient tradition, preſerved by Plutarch, which exactly coincides. The books of Numa were found ante ann. Chr. 181. four hundred years after the death of that King, and the commencement of the reign of Hoſtilius. Numa died then 581 years before the Chriſtian æra. How artful was it in the Poet to lay hold of the time Æneas arrives at Carthage, to reply to his critics, in the only manner the rapidity of his courſe, and the greatneſs of his ſubject would permit him! He makes it appear, that, according to his theory, this rencounter of Dido and Æneas is not a poetic licence. Virgil is not the only one who hath called in queſtion the vulgar chronology of the Latin Kings. I imagine I can trace the ſame ideas in his contemporary Pompeius. That hiſtorian, the rival of Livy and Salluſt, attributes the ſame period of duration, 300 years, to the kingdom of Alba. Had not his univerſal hiſtory been loſt, we ſhould probably have there found particular and circumſtantial proofs of this opinion. As it is, we muſt be ſatisfied with the ſimple expoſition of his abbreviator. "Albam longam condidit "quæ trecentis annis caput regni fuit." Livy himſelf, that father of Roman hiſtory, who ſometimes ſhows ſo great an attachment to the vulgar chronology, but generally runs over the difficult paſſages in a manner that betrays his credulity and ignorance, ſeems to diſtruſt his guides in thoſe early ages. Nothing was more natural than for him to take notice how long thoſe Kings reigned, whom he mentions. Yet is he entirely ſilent on this head. Nothing was more neceſſary than to aſcertain, at leaſt, the interval between Æneas and Romulus; which he has notwithſtanding neglected. Nor is this all. "The deſtruction of Alba, he ſays, happened "400 years after it was founded." In retrenching a 100 years for the reigns of Romulus and of Numa, and for the half of that of Hoſtilius, there remain juſt 300, inſtead of 400, as is given by the chronology of Eratoſthenes. Livy therefore nearly agrees with Virgil, the little difference between them ſerving rather to confirm than diſſolve their agreement.—I foreſee an objection, but as it is one of the moſt trivial, to reply to it would be only to form monſters for the ſake of ſubduing them: I ſhall therefore finish this digreſſion, already too long.

To page 199. *Note* [76]. M. Freret thinks the philoſophical obſervations of the ancients more exact than is commonly imagined. Thoſe, who are acquainted with this author's arguments and talents, will know the weight of his authority.

Ibidem. Note 77. Cicero envies the happineſs of his friend Marius, who ſpent his time in the country during the magnificent diverſions of Pompey. He ſpeaks with ſufficient contempt of the other repreſentations; but particularly of the combats of wild beaſts. "Reliquæ ſunt venationes, (ſays he) binæ per dies quinque; magnificæ, nemo negat, ſed quæ poteſt homini eſſe polito delectatio, cum aut homo imbecillus à valentiſſimâ beſtiâ laniatur aut præclara beſtia venabulo tranſverberatur."

To page 200. *Note* 85. Cethegus, the conſul, drained this moraſs. A. U. C. 592. In the time of Julius Cæſar, however, it was again overflowed. This dictator had a deſign of ſetting people to work at it. It appears Auguſtus did ſo. But I doubt if his endeavours ſucceeded any better than the former. At leaſt Pliny calls it ſtill a moraſs. Horace had indeed in a manner foretold it.

Ibidem. Note 86. Epicurus had no ſooner published his doctrines, than ſome people expreſſed themſelves freely on the eſtabliſhed religion, and began to regard it only as a political inſtitution.

Ibidem. Note 87. If not in denying the exiſtence, at leaſt in disbelieving the providence, of the Deity; for Cæſar was a follower of Epicurus. Thoſe who have a mind to ſee how obſcure a man of abilities may render the cleareſt truths, will peruſe with pleaſure the doubts with which M. Bayle has perplexed the ſentiments of Cæſar.

Ibidem. Note 90. Cæſar was ſovereign Pontiff; nor was this ſacerdotal office merely titular. The elegant diſſertations of Mr. de la Baſtie on the pontificate of the Emperors, will convince thoſe who are incredulous on this head. Conſult particularly the third of thoſe pieces, inſerted in the Mémoires de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett.

Ibid. Note 91. Lucretius, born with that enthuſiaſm of imagination, which forms great Poets and enterpriſing miſſionaries, was deſirous of being both the one and the other. I muſt pity the theologue, however, who cannot grant ſome indulgence to the latter, for the ſake of the former. This philoſopher, after having proved a Divinity in ſpite of himſelf, by attributing the phenomena of nature to general cauſes, proceeds to inquire how the notions he controverts came to be ſo univerſally entertained. For this he diſcovers three reaſons: I. Our dreams; for in theſe we conceive beings and effects that we never meet with in the material world, and attribute to them a real exiſtence and immenſe power. II. Our ignorance of the works of nature, which makes us, on every occaſion, recur to the hand of a Divinity. III. Our fear, which is the effect of that ignorance: this induces us to ſubmit to the calamities which happen to the earth, and excites us to endeavour to appeaſe, by our payers, ſome inviſible being that is ſuppoſed to afflict us. Lucretius expreſſes this laſt motive with an energy and a rapidity of ſtyle which bears all before it, and will not give the reader time to examine its validity.

To page 201. *Note* 96. The Romans intruſted the fidelity of their wives to the care and determination of their family. The relations met, if any one was accuſed, they judged, condemned to death, and executed their own

ſentence on the criminal. The laws alſo pardoned the husband or father, who, in the tranſport of his paſſion, killed the gallant, particularly if of a ſervile rank.

Ibidem. Note [97]. The diſcourſe of Micio in Terence, the manner in which Cicero excuſes the debaucheries of his client, and the exhortation of Cato ſufficiently explain the morals of the Romans in this reſpect. They cenſured debauchery only ſo far as it prevented the diſcharge of the eſſential duties of the citizen.

Nor were their ears more chaſte than their actions. The Caſina of Plautus is little known; but thoſe who have read that miſerable piece, can hardly comprehend how it is poſſible that there ſhould be but forty or fifty years between that farce and the Andria. It conſiſts of a vile intrigue between a parcel of ſlaves, heightened only by ſmutty jeſts and obſcenities, low as their condition. None of Plautus's comedies, however, were played ſo often, nor received with ſo much applauſe, as this wretched performance. Such were the Roman manners at the time of the ſecond Punic war: ſuch that virtue which the poſterity of ancient Rome ſo much regretted and admired.

To page 202. *Note* [103]. We muſt, however, diſtinguish Homer, Heſiod, Pindar, and the tragic Poets, who lived in an age when their tradition was more pure.

Ibidem. Note [111]. In his Mythology explained by hiſtory.

Ibidem. Note [113]. I am much indebted, in theſe inquiries, to the learned Freret, of the Academy of Belles-Lettres. He has opened a route, which appears obvious from all ſides. I conceive, however, that he reaſons much better on facts than dogmas. Prejudiced greatly in his favor, I eagerly ran over his Reply to the Chronology of Sir Iſaac Newton; but, may I venture to ſay, it by no means anſwered my expectations. I ſee nothing new in that piece, if we except the principles of a new theology and chronology, which, however, we already poſſeſſed; ſome defective and inconcluſive genealogy; a few minute reſearches into the chronology of Sparta, an ancient ſyſtem of aſtronomy, which I do not well underſtand, and the elegant preface of M. de Bougainville, which indeed I peruſe every time with additional pleaſure.

Ibidem. Note [119]. This relation of Lactantius differs a little from that of Diodorus.

Ibidem. Note [120]. Mr. Fourmont, the elder, hath written a diſſertation on Ephemerus, wherein there are ſome very bold conjectures and pleaſant extravagancies. It ill becomes a young writer to hold others in contempt; but I really cannot reply ſeriouſly to that piece. Thoſe who cannot ſee that the Panchaia deſcribed in Diodorus Siculus, is ſituated to the ſouth of Gidroſia, and at a little diſtance weſtward of the peninſula of India may believe, with Mr. Fourmont, that the gulph is ſouth of Arabia Felix, that Phank, on the continent, is the iſle of Panchaia, that the deſart of Pharan is the moſt delightful place in the world, and that the

city of Pieria in Syria is the capital of a little diſtrict in the neighbourhood of Medina.

To page 203. *Note* [125]. Such is the ſtory of the ſcholiaſt, adopted by Sir Iſaac Newton. But Lactantius writes the inſcription ΖΑΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΥ, which gives it, in my opinion, a more antique air. Lucian, for fables go on always gathering ſomething, tells us, that the inſcription intimated, that Jupiter no longer thundered, but had ſubmitted to the fate of mortals.

Ibidem. Note [132]. It is worth obſerving, that this Oſiris and his ſiſter were ſaid to be the youngeſt of the deities. It required a great many ages for the Ægyptians to arrive at this ſimplicity.

Ibidem Note [133]. The worſhip of the ſun hath prevailed in all nations. I ſhall give what appear to me the reaſons of it. It is perhaps the only object in the world that is at once ſole and perceptible. Perceptible to all the nations upon earth, in the moſt brilliant and beneficent manner, it is no wonder it ſhould attract their homage. Sole and indiviſible, thoſe who reaſoned on the ſubject, and were not too difficult, diſcovered in it all the diſtinguiſhing marks of divinity.

Ibidem. Note [134]. I am not very well ſatisfied with this paſſage. I give the beſt reaſons I can find; but it ſeems to me, that, in ſuch early ages, ſentiment muſt have been their guide; and ſentiment ſpeaks always in behalf of the ſyſtem of liberty.

To page 204. *Note* [137]. I mean among the Greeks; his worſhip was long kept up in Italy.

Ibidem. Note [144]. They were obliged to proſtitute themſelves, once in their lives, to the firſt comer, in the temple of Venus. Voltaire, who impoſes on them the obligation of doing it every year, treats it as an idle and ridiculous fable. Herodotus, however, had travelled into theſe parts; and Mr. Voltaire is too well verſed in hiſtory to be ignorant, how many ſimilar triumphs ſuperſtition has made over humanity and virtue. What does he think of an act of faith? But I anticipate his anſwer. I was, beſides, ignorant that Babylon was then the beſt governed city in the world. Quintus Curtius deſcribes it as the moſt licentious. Beroſa, the Babylonian himſelf, complains that his fellow-citizens, breaking down all the barriers of modeſty, lived like brute beaſts; and the ſcholiaſt upon Juvenal may inform us, that in his time it was not degenerated.

To page 205. *Note* [151]. After the taking of Peruſa, he ſacrificed three hundred of the principal citizens upon an altar erected to the divinity of his father.

Ibidem. Notes [156]. It is with impatience I expect the continuation of thoſe diſſertations on this ſubject, which M. de la Bleterie hath promiſed us. The ſyſtem of Auguſtus, ſo often miſunderſtood, will be laid down with the utmoſt minuteneſs. This author hath a peculiar delicacy, and an amiable freedom, of ſentiment. He is argumentative without dryneſs, and expreſſes himſelf with all the graces of a clear and elegant ſtyle. Perhaps,

however, this Deſcartes of hiſtory reaſons a little too much *a priori*, and founds his concluſions leſs upon authority of particular facts, than on general induction: but this is the fault only of men of great genius.

Ibidem Note [157]. Auguſtus bequeathed to Tiberius and Livia only millies quingenties, thirty millions of livres. The augur Lentulus died in his reign, worth quater millies, fourſcore millions.

Ibidem. Note [159]. I diſtinguish the greatneſs of the Roman empire from that of the republic: the one conſiſted in the number of provinces, the other in that of its citizens.

Ibidem. Note [160]. Vitellius ſent his gallies as far as the pillars of Hercules, in order to catch the uncommon and delicate fish, of which this luxurious dish was compoſed. If we may credit Dr. Arbuthnot, it coſt 765,625 l. Sterling.

INDEX.

A.

ABASSIDES, the extent of their empire in the ninth century, vol. iv. p. 75. In the tenth century, 81.
Abdoubrahman (the Third), his revenue in the tenth century, vol. iv. 80.
Adalbert (the First), account of, vol. v. 149.
—— (the Second), vol. v. 156.
—— (the Third), inquiry into his birth, vol. v. 156.
Addiſon, his Treatiſe of Antient Medals examined, vol. iii. 276. vol. vi. 248. His Explanation of the 35th Ode of the firſt Book of Horace conſidered, vol. iv. 31.
Adelais, adventures of, vol. v. 165.
Aderfield's Hiſtory of Charles the Twelfth, vol. iii. 185. vol. vi. 153.
Alamintus, account of his converſation with Hannibal, vol. iii. 201. vol. vi. 171.
Albert-Azo (the Firſt), mentioned, vol. v. 175. Fixes his reſidence at Ateſte or Eſte, 178.
—— (the Second), his conduct and character conſidered, vol. v. 179. The common father of the Italian and German Princes of the kindred line of Eſte and Brunſwick, *ibid.*
—— (the Seventh) his character and ſucceſs, vol. v. 206.
D'Alembert, Remarks upon an obſervation regarding hiſtory, vol. iv. 178. vol. vii. 121.
Alevoerde, his life of Servetus, vol. iii. 225. vol. vi. 195.
Alfred, character of, vol. iv. 77.
Allamand (Mr.), his character, vol. iii. 270. vol. vi. 241.
Alphonzo (the Firſt), account of, vol. v. 212.
—— (the Third), relinquiſhment of his power, vol. v. 240. His character, *ibid.*
Ammonius edited by Valcknaer, vol. iii. 185. vol. vi. 154.
Anderſon's Deſcription of Iceland, vol. iii. 270. vol. vi. 241.
Anglicarum Rerum Scriptores, a new edition recommended, vol. v. 245. A proper editor for the purpoſe mentioned, 256. The extent and nature of the deſign, 260.
Anquetil du Perron, his Voyage to the Eaſt Indies, vol. iii. 125.
Anſon's Voyage, vol. iii. 279. vol. vi. 251.

INDEX.

Anti-Machiavel, vol. iii. 194. vol. vi. 163.
Antony Nicolas, Proceſs of, vol. iii. 270. vol. vi. 241.
D'Anville, his Memoir on the Getæ, vol. iii. 20. His remarks on the Roman mile, vol. iii. 265. vol. vi. 236.
Apthorpe (Mr.), his cenſure of Mr. Gibbon's deſcription of the *promiſed* land, vol. v. 23. Account of his work, 76.
Arabs, their ſituation in the ninth century, vol. iv. 77.
Ariſtotle, character of, as a critic, vol. iv. 157. vol. vii. 96.
Arretin's Letters, vol. iii. 209. vol. vi. 179. New Arretin, vol. iii. 287. vol. vi. 258.
Arrian, tactics of, vol. iii. 64.
Aſtruc's Hiſtory of Languedoc, vol. iii. 166. 175. vol. vi. 135. 144.
Auguſtus, his mode of travelling, vol. iv. 9. vol. vii. 9. His elevation conſidered, and the cauſes of it pointed out, vol. iv. 195. vol. vii. 139.
Auſaldus de traditione, &c. vol. iii. 234. vol. vi. 205.

B.

Barbeyrac, his Hiſtory of ancient Treaties, vol. iii. 166. vol. vi. 135.
Barclay's Argenis, vol. iii. 21.
Bargæus, his Diſſertation *de Everſoribus*, &c. examined, vol. iii. 182. vol. vi. 151.
Baronius contraſted with Dr. Middleton, vol. v. 68.
Barré (Mr. de la), his diſſertations compared with Gedoyn's, vol. iii. 79.
Barthelemy, his Memoir on the Monuments of Rome, vol. iii. 266. vol. vi. 237.
Bayle compared with Le Clerc, vol. iii. 77. His Dictionary, 80. 83. Remarks on, vol. iii. 283. vol. vi. 254. Criticiſm on Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm, vol. iii. 298. vol. vi. 270.
Beau, his Memoir on the Roman Legion, vol. iii. 21.
Beaufort, (Mr. de), his opinions reſpecting the firſt five ages of Rome, vol. iv. 159. vol. vii. 99.
Belley, his Explanation of a Camayeu, vol. iii. 21. Of an Agate, *ibid.*
Berengarius, account of his conduct, vol. v. 164.
Bernoulli's correſpondence with Leibnitz, vol. iii. p. 269. vol. vi. 241.
Berta, her vices mentioned, vol. v. 159.

INDEX.

Beyer, his Dissertation on the Atlantic Island of Plato, vol. iii. 125.
Bibliothèque Raisonnée, vol. iii. 129, 130. 132. 137. 139. 141. 150. 159. 166. 184. 194. 198. 213. 225. 229. 234. 236. 243. 247. 250. 254. 268. 278, 279. 282, 283, 284, 285. 287, 288. 290, 291, 292. vol. vi. 96, 97. 99. 104. 106. 108. 117. 127. 134. 153. 163. 167. 178. 205. 207. 215. 218. 221. 225. 239. 249. 251. 253, 254. 256, 257. 259. 262, 263, 264.
Bielfeld's Letters, vol. iii. 141. 155. vol. vi. 108. 123.
Blanc (Abbé de), his Letters on the English, vol. iii. 271. vol. vi. 242.
Bleterie, his Memoir on the Tribunitian Powers of the Emperors, vol. iii. 19. His Life of Julian, 133. & vol. vi. 100. His History of Jovien, &c. vol. iii. 283. vol. vi. 255.
Bochat, his Treatise on the Egyptian Divinities at Rome, vol. iii. 130. vol. vi. 96. His Remarks on Foreign Service, vol. iii. 166. vol. vi. 134. His Critical Memoirs on the Swiss, vol. iii. 288. vol. vi. 259.
Boileau compared with Juvenal, vol. iii. 138. vol. vi. 105.
Bolingbroke's Patriot King, vol. iii. 283. vol. vi. 255.
Bonamy's Reflections on Geographical Errors characterized, vol. iii. 19.
Boniface the Bavarian, an account of, v. 139. Considerations regarding his name, 141. His country, 142. His title, 143. And of the province intrusted to his care, 146.
—— (the Second) account of, vol. v. 146.
Borso created duke of Modena, vol. v. 209.
Bower's Lives of the Popes, vol. iii. 284. vol. vi. 256.
Boze (Mr.), his Dissertation on the Medal of Smyrna, vol. iii. 251. vol. vi. 222.
Brandenburgh, Memoirs of, vol. iii. 286. vol. vi. 257.
Britain, inundation of, by the sea, mentioned by Tacitus, vol. iv. 170. vol. vii. 112. Inference to be drawn from it, *ibid.*
Brunswicensium Rerum Scriptores, edited by Leibnitz, vol. v. 253.
Brunswick, Antiquities of the House of, considered, vol. v. 131. Division of the subject, 132.
Buffon's Natural History, vol. iii. 286. vol. vi. 257.
Burette (Mr. de), his Dissertation, in the Mémoires de l'Académie, vol. iii. 79.
Burigny, his Life of Erasmus examined, vol. iii. 96.
Burke, his Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful considered, vol. iii. 122.
Burman, character of, as a critic, vol. iii. 66.

INDEX.

C.

Cæsar (Don), his surrender of Ferrara to the Pope, vol. v. 227. Enquiry into his birth, 232.

Calvin, his conduct to Servetus examined, vol. iii. 225. vol. vi. 196. His Letters to Jacques de Bourgogne, vol. iii. 247. vol. vi. 218.

Candianus, his conduct and death, vol. v. 177.

Castalio on the Temples of Peace and Janus, vol. iii. 182. vol. vi. 151.

Cat (Mr. le), his Treatise on the Senses, vol. iii. 245. vol. vi. 216.

Catalogue of armies, why considered by epic poets as essential, vol. iv. 1. vol. vii. 1.

Caylus (Count de), his Dissertation on Painting compared with that of Mr. de la Nauze, vol. iii. 20. His Memoirs on Sculpture, 21. On the Mausoleum, *ibid.*

Caxton obliged to comply with the bad taste of the times in the books he printed, vol. v. 249.

Cellarius compared with Emmius, vol. iii. 124.

Chais (Mr. le), his Letters on Jubilees, vol. iii. 288. 290. vol. vi. 260. 262.

Chapelle (Mr.), his Necessity of Public Worship, vol. iii. 269. vol. vi. 241.

Charles (the Eighth), critical remarks on his title to the Crown of Naples, vol. iii. 5. vol. vi. 77. His investiture depended on the justice of Frederick's deposition, vol. iii. 84. vol. vi. 85.

Charlevoix's History of France, vol. iii. 269. vol. vi. 241.

Chaufepié's Dictionary, vol. iii. 287. vol. vi. 259.

Chelsum (Dr.), contrasted with Mr. Davis, vol. v. 82. With Dr. Watson, 84. His opinion respecting the military service of the first Christians examined, 87. His opinion of the conduct of Marcellus the Centurion examined, 93. His remarks on Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History considered, 101. His opinion of Eusebius's moral character examined, 111.

Christianity, history of, in the first three centuries, very imperfect, vol. v. 73.

Christina, Memoirs of, vol. iii. 287. vol. vi. 259. The encouragement she gave to, and advances she made in, literature, vol. iv. 144. vol. vii. 81.

Cicero de Oratore, vol. iii. 114. His mode of travelling from Rome to Cilicia minutely examined, vol. iv. 17. vol. vi. 18.

Clemens, obſervations on his Epiſtles regarding Biſhops, vol. v. 35.
Clerc (Mr. le), his Bibliothéque Univerſelle, vol. iii. 67. 69. 75. Compared with Bayle, 77. His Diſſertation on the Greek Middle Verb examined, and compared with Kuſter's, 94. Quotation from, rectified, vol. v. 27.
Clogher (Biſhop of), his Eſſay on Spirit, vol. iii. 290. vol. vi. 262.
Clos (Mr. du), his Conſiderations on Morals, vol. iii. 291. vol. vi. 263. His Hiſtory of Lewis XI. vol. iii. 269. vol. vi. 241.
Cluverii Antiqua Italia examined, vol. iii. 187. 195. 208. 210. 214. 228. 238. 246. vol. vi. 156. 164. 178, 179. 184. 198. 209. 217. His Remarks on the Paſſages of the Alps conſidered, vol. iii. 199. vol. vi. 168. His ſentiments reſpecting the origin of Rome examined, vol. iii. 230. vol. vi. 201. His general character, vol. iii. 248. 252. vol. vi. 219. 223.
Commerce, ſtate of, in the fourteenth century, vol. iv. 111.
Concord, account of a temple to, vol. iii. 159. vol. vi. 126.
Condamine's Travels in Italy, vol. iii. 296. 298. vol. vi. 268, 269.
Condillac, his Treatiſe on Syſtems, vol. iii. 285. vol. vi. 256.
Corteſi's Dialogues, vol. iii. 198. vol. vi. 167.
Courayer's Defence, &c. vol. iii. 229. vol. vi. 200.
Cragius's Hiſtory of Denmark, vol. iii. 198. vol. vi. 168.
Criticiſm, reflexions upon, vol. iv. 156. vol. vii. 96. Its materials and its employment, vol. iv. 156. vol. vii. 97. Farther reflexions, vol. iv. 163. vol. vii. 103.
Cruſades, the firſt in the eleventh century, vol. iv. 86. The advantages derived from it, *ibid.* The ſecond cruſade, account of, 90. Cruſades in the thirteenth century, account of, 100.
Cumberland's Treatiſe, tranſlated by Barbeyrac, vol. iii. 247. vol. vi. 218.
Cuper's Letters, vol. iii. 236. vol. vi. 207.

D.

Dalin's Hiſtory of Sweden, vol. iii. 278. 286. vol. vi. 250. 257.
Daniel (Father), a ſentiment of his, vol. iii. 16, vol. vi. 89.
David (King), hiſtory of, vol. iii. 185. vol. vi. 154. His curſes, diſſertation on, vol. iii. 255. vol. vi. 226.

Davis (Mr.), anſwer to his objections to the XVth and XVIth Chapters of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. v. 1. Reaſons for the Anſwer, 4. His notice of errors of the preſs, 12. His charge of miſrepreſentation accounted for by the different editions conſulted, 13. His mention of the Jewiſh hiſtory, 14. His charge of plagiariſm examined, 67.
Dedications, account of, vol. iv. 130. One from the Author to his Father, *ibid.*
Delany's Sermons, vol. iii. 255. vol. vi. 226.
Deſlandes, his Hiſtory of Philoſophy, vol. iii. 160. vi. 198. His Eſſay on the Marine of the Ancients, vol. iii. 282. vol. vi. 253.
Dion (Caſſius), edited by Reimar, vol. iii. 291. vol. vi. 263. References to, ſupported, vol. v. 46.
Ditton's Demonſtration, &c. vol. iii. 213. vol. vi. 183.
Dodwell, character of, vol. iii. 66.
Ducheſne, his publication of *Les Hiſtoriens des Gaules & de la France*, vol. v. 254.

E.

Ebato, his poem on the Troubles of Sicily, vol. iii. 271. vol. vi. 242.
Eccard, account of his Guelphicæ Origines, vol. v. 137.
Eccelin (the Firſt), character of, vol. v. 200.
——— (the Second), account of, vol. v. 201.
——— (the Third), his character, vol. v. 204.
Edmonds's Negociations, vol. iii. 285. vol. vi. 257.
Egede (Mr.), his account of a miſſion into Grœnland, vol. iii. 243. vol. vi. 215.
Eleuſis, the moſt illuſtrious of the religious ſocieties of the ancients, vol. iv. 203.
Ellis's Voyage to Hudſon's Bay, vol. iii. 282. vol. vi. 253.
Emmius, his Geographical Deſcription of Greece, vol. iii. 124. Compared with Cellarius, *ibid.*
England, ſtate of, in the ninth century, vol. iv. 77. In the tenth, 81. In the eleventh, 84. In the twelfth, 88. In the thirteenth, 89. In the fourteenth, 107. In the fifteenth, 117.
Ephemeris, his ſyſtem, vol. iv. 184. vol. vii. 127. Did not prevail till the time of the emperors, vol. iv. 185. vol. vii. 129.
Eraſmus, his Life, by Burigny, examined, vol. iii. 96. His

Ciceronianus, 99. His Colloquia, 106, The encouragement he gave to literature, vol. iv. 142. vol. vii. 80.

Eſte, family of, their connexion with the Marquiſſes of Tuſcany examined, vol. v. 156. 179. 193. The decline of the family, 196. The caſtle of Eſte taken, 203. Account of their marriages, 217. The extinction of the *legitimate* race, 226. The power of their princes, 236. Their characters, 237.

Eſtrade (Count of), his Letters, vol. iii. 236. 244. vol. vi. 207. 216.

Euſebius, paſſage from, reſpecting the perſecution in Egypt, vol. v. 36. Paſſage reſpecting Maxentius, 39. Account of the Chronicle attributed to him and Jerom, 40. His Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory conſidered, 101. His moral character examined, 112.

F.

Fabricius, on the Theology of Water, vol. iii. 198. vol. vi. 167.

Falconieri, his Diſſertation on the Pyramid of Ceſtius, vol. iii. 182. vol. vi. 150.

Faſhion, the influence of, upon particular ſciences, at particular periods, vol. iv. 141. vol. vii. 79.

Fatimite Caliphs, dynaſty of, in the tenth century, vol. iv. 80.

Ferdinand, deſcended from the Houſe of Aragon, vol. iii. 6. vol. vi. 78. Legitimated by a ſolemn act, vol. iii. 7. vol. vi. 79. The ſentence of Innocent IV., regarding him, irregular, vol. iii. 11. vol. vi. 83.

Ferrara, diſtinguiſhed by the birth of Arioſto and Taſſo, vol. v. 226. Surrender of, by Don Cæſar, to the Pope, 227.

Fleury (Abbé), his Work on the Method of Study, vol. iii. 276. vol. vi. 246.

Folard compared with Guichardt, vol. iii. 63. His tranſlation of Polybius, 65.

Fontenelle, his Comedies examined, vol. iii. 49. Character of his Works, 66.

Foſter's Sermons, vol. iii. 137. 166. vol. vi. 104. 134.

Fourmont, his Reflexions Critiques examined, vol. iii. 133. vol. vi. 99. His Chineſe Grammar, vol. iii. 245. vol. vi. 216.

Frederic (the Second), lawful King of Naples, vol. iii. 5. vol. vi. 77.

French Empire, ruin of, in the ninth century, vol. v. 76. State of, in the tenth century, 78. In the twelfth, 88. In the thirteenth, 97. In the fourteenth, 105. In the fifteenth, 119.

Freret, his Diſſertation on the Marble of Paros, vol. iii. 21. His Diſſertation on the Deluges of Ogyges and Deucalion, 74. Quotation from, regarding fondneſs for ſyſtem, vol. vii. 192, *note*. 8. Regarding the ſecret of the Myſteries, 206. *note*. 9.

G.

Gale, his Collection of Monkiſh Hiſtorians, vol. v. 252.

Gebauer, his Life of Richard of Cornwal, Emperor of Germany, vol. iii. 250. vol. vi. 221.

Gedoyn, his diſſertations compared with thoſe of Mr. de la Barre, vol. iii. 79.

Gendre (Mr. le), his Antiquities of the French Nation, vol. iii. 229. vol. vi. 200.

Germans, their ſituation in the tenth century, vol. v. 79. In the eleventh, 83. In the twelfth, 88. In the thirteenth, 95. In the fourteenth, 102. In the fifteenth, 116.

Giaconius, on the *Columna Roſtrata of Duillius*, conſidered, vol. iii. 182. vol. vi. 151.

Giannoni's Hiſtory of Naples, vol. iii. 236. vol. vi. 207.

Gmelin, his Travels into Siberia, vol. iii. 21. vol. vi. 243.

Gordon's Political Diſcourſes, vol. iii. 229. vol. vi. 200.

Gori's Symbolæ Florentinæ, vol. iii. 301. vol. vi. 273.

Goujet, his Bibliothéque Françoiſe, vol. iii. 255. vol. vi. 226.

Grævii Theſaurus, Vol. IV. vol. iii. 176. vol. vi. 145.

Grainger's Travels into Egypt, vol. iii. 271. vol. vi. 242.

Gravina, a MSS. *Del Governo Civile di Roma* examined, vol. iv. 73. vol. vii. 77.

Grotius, his character contraſted with that of Salmaſius, vol. iii. 1. vol. vi. 73.

Guazzeſi's Letter to Cocchi, on the Ciſalpine Gallic War, critically examined, vol. iv. 32. vol. vi. 33.

Guelph, the root of the German and of the Britiſh line of the family of Eſte, vol. v. 193.

Guelphs and Ghibellins, ſome account of, vol. iv. 95. vol. v. 201.

Guichardt, his Mémoires Militaires ſur le Grecs, &c. vol. iii. 62.

Guido (Marquis of Tuſcany), account of, vol. v. 153.
Guigner, his Memoir on the Deſtruction of the Greek Monarchy in Bactriana, vol. iii. 19.

H.

Haller's Catalogue of Plants in Switzerland, vol. iii. 235. vol. vi. 206. His Poems tranſlated, vol. iii. 271. vol. vi. 243.
Halley (Dr.), his Abſtract of Dodwell's book, *De Cyclis*, examined, vol. iii. 109.
Hardion, his Diſſertation on the Oracle at Delphi, vol. iii. 76.
Hardouin's Commentary on the New Teſtament, vol. iii. 229. vol. vi. 200.
Harleian Miſcellany, vol. iii. 270. 282. vol. vi. 241. 254.
Harris's three Treatiſes examined, vol. iii. 254. vol. vi. 225.
Havercamp's Collection regarding the Pronunciation of the Greek, vol. iii. 209. vol. vi. 179.
Hearne, his character as an editor, vol. v. 252.
Heineccius, his Hiſtory of the German Law, vol. iii. 132. vol. vi. 99.
Heſiod, edited by Robinſon, vol. iii. 160. vol. vi. 128.
Hiſtorian, the ſources of his information pointed out, vol. v. 69. and the uſe he makes of them, 70.
Hiſtory, ſubjects fit for, vol. iii. 18. vol. vi. 91. The Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. iii. 234. 236. 245. 250. 255. vol. vi. 205. 207. 216. 221. 226. Is the knowledge of cauſes and effects, vol. iv. 174. vol. vii. 116. Rules for the choice of facts, *ibid.* Slight circumſtances frequently of importance, vol. iv. 176. vol. vii. 118.
Homer, inquiry into his life and writings, vol. iii. 59. The night-adventure in the Iliad compared with the Niſus and Euryalus of Virgil, 61. Continuation of the Iliad, 67. Achilles's ſhield compared with the ſhield in Virgil, 71. Examination of the games celebrated at the funeral of Patroclus, 82. The 24th Iliad conſidered, 83. Reaſons for reading Homer before any other Greek writer, 84. His Life, in Greek, publiſhed by Gale, examined, 116. His Odyſſey, 125.
Horace compared with Juvenal, as a ſatiriſt, vol. iii. 129. vol. vi. 95. The Fifth Satire of the Firſt Book, vol. iii. 265. vol. vi. 236. The ſame, minutely examined, vol. iv. 11.

vol. vii. 11. Firſt ſeven Epiſtles of the Firſt Book, vol. iii. 300. vol. vi. 272. Explanation of the 35th Ode of the Firſt Book, by Mr. Addiſon, vol. iv. 31. vol. vii. 32. A paſſage in the Art of Poetry examined, vol. iv. 164. vol. vii. 104.

Howard, his edition of Florence of Worceſter, vol. v. 251.

Hugh, or *Hugo* (Count of Provence), account of, vol. v. 154.

Hugo (Marquis of Tuſcany), character of, vol. v. 175, 176.

Hurd (Dr.), his Commentary on Horace's Art of Poetry, vol. iii. 21. Examination of, 22. His characters of Iphigenia and Eelectra conſidered, 27. His Rules for Epic Poetry, 28. His ſentiments upon the Ancient Chorus examined, 34. His account of the Satires, &c. 37. His Notes on the Epiſtle to Auguſtus, 40. His Diſcourſe on the Provinces of the Drama, 41. His Diſcourſe on Poetical Imitation, 50.

Hyacinthe (Saint), philoſophical reſearches by, vol. iii. 247. vol. vi. 218.

I.

Ignatius, account of, given by Mr. Gibbon, juſtified, vol. v. 50.

Italy, ſtate of, in the thirteenth century, vol. iv. 96. In the fourteenth, 103. In the fifteenth, 114. 125.

Itineraria Vetera, edited by Weſſeling, vol. iii. 130. vol. vi. 97.

Jews, account of, in anſwer to Mr. Davis, vol. v. 114.

Jortin (Dr.), quotation from his Sixth Diſſertation, vol. iv. 235.

Journal des Scavans, vol. iii. 264. vol. vi. 235.

Julian, Life of, by Bleterie, vol. iii. 133. vol. vi. 99.

Juſtin (Martyr), paſſage from, examined and juſtified, vol. v. 43.

Juvenal, his third Satire examined, vol. iii. 128. vol. vi. 94. His fourth, vol. iii. 129. vol. vi. 95. His fifth, vol. iii. 129. vol. vi. 96. His ſixth, vol. iii. 131. vol. vi. 97. His ſeventh, vol. iii. 132. vol. vi. 98. His eighth, vol. iii. 133. vol. vi. 100. His ninth and tenth, vol. iii. 135, 136. vol. vi. 102. His eleventh and twelfth, vol. iii. 137, 138. vol. vi. 104, 105. His thirteenth and fourteenth, vol. iii. 140, 142. vol. vi. 107. 109. His fifteenth and ſixteenth, vol. iii. 143. vol. vi. 110. Compared with Horace, vol. iii.

129—138. vol. vi. 96—105. With Boileau, vol. iii. 138. vol. vi. 105. General obſervations upon, vol. iii. 145. vol. vi. 112.

K.

Kenig's Appeal to the Public, vol. iii. 292. vol. vi. 264.
Kerſeboom's Treatiſe on the Inhabitants of Holland, &c. vol. iii. 236. vol. vi. 207.
Keyſler's Travels, vol. iii. 300. vol. vi. 271.
Klein's Hiſtory of Fiſhes, vol. iii. 236. vol. vi. 207.

L.

Lactantius, quotation from, vol. v. 44.
Lambert (Marquis of Tuſcany), account of, vol. v. 155.
Lami's Learning of the Apoſtles, vol. iii. 166. vol. vi. 135.
Langebeck, his edition of the *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*, vol. v. 255.
Langer. Letter to him, on the ſubject of the Memoirs of the Houſe of Brunſwick, vol. v. 126. vol. vii. 143.
Leibnitz, his character and purſuits, vol. v. 133. 253.
Leſner's Theology of Inſects, vol. iii. 244. vol. vi. 215.
Letters on Rouſſeau and Saurin, vol. iii. 198. vol. vi. 167.
Lewis (the Ninth), character of, vol. iv. 97.
Libanius's Letters, by Welf, vol. iii. 185. vol. vi. 153.
Linnæus's Travels into Weſtern Gothland, vol. iii. 271. vol. vi. 243.
Literature, the ſtate of, in the fourteenth century, vol. iv. 111. The encouragement it met with at different periods, vol. iv. 144. vol. vii. 82. Its decline, vol. iv. 141. vol. vii. 79. To what owing, *ibid.* Great men attached to it, vol. iv. 145. vol. vii. 82.
Liutprand (Biſhop of Cremona), ſome account of his Hiſtory, vol. vi. 157.
Livy and Polybius compared, as to Hannibal's paſſage over the Alps, vol. iii. 199. vol. vi. 168. Parallel between, and Tacitus, vol. iv. 177. vol. vii. 119.
Longinus, his Treatiſe on the Sublime, in the edition of Tollius, conſidered, vol. iii. 93. 96. 102. 112. 115.

Lowth (Biſhop), his Tranſlation of Iſaiah mentioned with praiſe, vol. v. 17.
Lucca, deſcription of, vol. v. 146.
Lucian, edited by Hemſterhuis and Geſner, vol. iii. 243. vol. vi. 215.
Lucretia, her character, vol. v. 218.
Lyſias, edited by Taylor, vol. iii. 198. vol. vi. 167.

M.

Mably, his Obſervations ſur les Grecs, vol. iii. 124. His Parallel between the French and the Romans, vol. iii. 229. vol. vi. 201.
Machiavel, a republican, vol. iii. 229. vol. vi. 201.
Maclaurin's account of Newton's Diſcoveries, vol. iii. 282. vol. vi. 254.
Mahmud of Gaſna, the firſt prince who aſſumed the title of Sultan, vol. iv. 82.
Mairan, his Treatiſe on Ice, vol. iii. 286. vol. vi. 257.
Mallet, his Poem of Amintor and Theodora, vol. iii. 251. vol. vi. 242. Introduction to the Hiſtory of Denmark examined, vol. iii. 302. vol. vi. 273.
Marcellus (the Centurion), his conduct conſidered, vol. v. 93.
Marchiali, or *L'Homme au Maſque de Fer*, conjectures reſpecting, vol. iv. 239.
Marius, his ſitting on the ruins of Carthage, vol. vii. 186. *note* 13.
Marozia, her conduct deſcribed, vol. v. 160.
Marquis, or *Margrave*, origin of the title, vol. v. 149.
Marriage, the neceſſity of its inſtitution in civilized countries, vol. iii. 6. vol. vi. 78.
Marſham's Canon Chronicus, vol. iii. 85. The grounds of his deference for the Parian Marble diſputed, *ib.*
Marti's Letters, vol. iii. 166. vol. vi. 135.
Martyn's Tranſlation of Virgil's Georgics, vol. iii. 270. vol. vi. 241.
Maſſieu, his Hiſtory of French Poetry, vol. iii. 198. vol. vi. 167.
Maty (Dr.), his Letter to Mr. Gibbon, upon his *Eſſay ſur l'Etude*, &c. vol. iv. 133.
Maupertuis, his Eſſay on Moral Philoſophy, vol. iii. 285. vol. vi. 257. His Works, vol. iii. 292. vol. vi. 263.

Medals, ancient, reflections on, vol. iv. 28. vol. vii. 30.
Medici, family of, the encouragement they gave to literature, vol. iv. 142. vol. vii. 80.
Metrie (Mr. de la), his Penelope's Web, vol. iii. 280. vol. vi. 251. His Happy Life, vol. iii. 283. vol. vi. 254.
Mezeriac's Ovid, vol. iii. 61.
Middleton (Dr.), his Treatise on the Roman Senate, vol. iii. 278. vol. vi. 249. His Free Inquiry into the Miracles, &c. vol. iii. 283. vol. vi. 255. Contrasted with Baronius, vol. v. 68.
Moine (Mr. le), his Treatise on Miracles censured, vol. iii. 280. vol. vi. 251.
Montague (Lady Mary), her Letters, vol. iii. 272. vol. vi. 243.
Montfaucon, his Library of MSS. vol. iii. 176. vol. vi. 144. His Antiquities, vol. iii. 299. vol. vi. 271.
Montgon (Abbé de), his Memoirs, vol. iii. 255. vol. vi. 226.
Morell's Treasury of Imperial Medals, vol. iii. 292. vol. vi. 263.
Mosheim, his Syntagma Dissertationum, vol. iii. 130. vol. vi. 97. Mentioned with praise, vol. v. 53. Charge of misquoting him resisted, 55.
Motteville (Madame de), her Memoirs of Anne of Austria characterized, vol. iii. 80.
Muratori, his Dissertation on the Brazen Table found near Velleia, vol. iii. 301. vol. vi. 273. Character, and account of his productions, vol. v. 137. 254.

N.

Nardini, his account of Rome examined, vol. iii. 148. 151. 156. 160. 163. 167. vol. vi. 116. 118. 123. 128. 131. 135. Examination of the meaning he attributes to the words *insula* and *domus*, vol. iii. 152. vol. vi. 120. Its general character, vol. iii. 161. vol. vi. 129. Account of the Circus examined, vol. iii. 168. vol. vi. 137. His account of the Tiber considered, vol. iii. 172. vol. vi. 142. Conclusion of the Work, vol. iii. 175. vol. vi. 144.
Nauze (Mr. de la), his Dissertation on the Roman Calendar, vol. iii. 19. His Dissertation upon Pliny's Book on Painting, 20. Compared with Count Caylus, *ibid.* His Remarks on Ancient Geography, vol. iii. 265.
Navarre (King of), Poems by, vol. iii. 236. vol. vi. 207.

Nemesion, account of his condemnation, vol. v. 38.
Normans, their character, in the eleventh century, vol. iv. 85.

O.

Olivier, a Poem, characterized, vol. iii. 237. vol. vi. 208.
Orosius, edited by Havercamp, vol. iii. 176. vol. vi. 145.
Orpheus, his Hymn to Musæus, opinions respecting, vol. vii. 207. *note* 12.
Otbert (the First), account of, vol. v. 163.
—— (the Second), account of, vol. v. 172.
Otho (the Great), his conduct considered, vol. v. 164.
Otter's Travels in Turkey, vol. iii. 283. vol. vi. 254.
Outhier, his Voyage to the North, vol. iii. 255. vol. vi. 226.
Ovid, his Fasti examined, vol. iii. 267. 272. vol. vi. 238. 244. A minute account of its merits and defects given, vol. iv. 24. vol. vii. 26. The Dauphin-edition censured, vol. iii. 267. vol. vi. 238. The anachronisms of Ovid disgusting, vol. iv. 165. vol. vii. 105.

P.

Paganism, system of, vol. iv. 179. vol. vii. 121. Their oracles not less ancient and venerable than their mysteries, vol. iv. 201. Their oracles consulted upon all occasions, 201. Examination of their mysteries, 203.
Palestine, measure and extent of, vol. v. 24, 25.
Paolo (Fra), a quotation from, supported, vol. v. 34.
Parker (Archbishop), his character, vol. v. 250. An account of the books he published, 251.
Petersburgh, Memoirs of the Academy, vol. iii. 287. vol. vi. 259.
Philo, by Mangey, vol. iii. 247. vol. vi. 219.
Philosophy, of a genius for, vol. iv. 170. vol. vii. 112. What it is not, *ibid.* What it is, *ibid.* Of the assistance it receives from literature, vol. iv. 172. vol. vii. 114.
Physics, the advantages of the ancients over the moderns, in the study and cultivation of, vol. iv. 167. vol. vii. 108.
Pilkington (Mr. John), his character, vol. v. 256. Recommended as a proper person to edite the *Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum*, 258.

Piron's Comedy Métromanie examined, vol. iii. 294. vol. vi. 266.
Pliny (the younger), his advice respecting reading, vol. iii. 3. vol. vi. 75. His Epistles edited by Cortius, vol. iii. 130. vol. vi. 97. Reference to, vol. v. 49. The date of his consulship examined, 65.
Pluche (Abbé), his History of the Heavens considered, vol. iii. 184. vol. vi. 153.
Pocock's Description of the East, vol. iii. 269. vol. vi. 240.
Poetry, its province and sources, vol. iv. 146. vol. vii. 85. The manners of the ancients more favorable than those of the moderns to its cultivation, vol. iv. 148. vol. vii. 86. The means of perceiving its beauties, vol. iv. 149. vol. vii. 88. Whether it should confine itself to the truth of history, vol. iv. 164. 166. vol. vii. 104. 106.
Polybius, his character, vol. iii. 185. vol. vi. 164. Compared with Livy, in his account of Hannibal's march over the Alps, vol. iii. 199. vol. vi. 168.
Pontoppidan's Gesta Danorum, vol. iii. 229. vol. vi. 200.
Popes, their struggles with the princes of Germany, in the eleventh century, vol. iv. 83. In the twelfth, 87. Their power, in the thirteenth century, 94. Their removal to Avignon, and consequences of it, 102. Their conduct in the fifteenth century, 114.
Port Royal Greek Grammar considered, vol. iii. 90.
Potter (Archbishop), his Grecian Antiquities, vol. iii. 78. 125.
Pouilly (Mr. de), his Theory of agreeable Sentiments, vol. iii. 271. vol. vi. 243. His opinion respecting the first five ages of Rome, vol. iv. 159. vol. vii. 99.
Premontval's Monogomy, vol. iii. 288. vol. vi. 260.
Prevot's History of William the Conqueror, vol. iii. 235. vol. vi. 206.
Princes, their power of disposing of their kingdoms considered, vol. iii. 13. vol. vi. 86.
Prudentius, quotation from, vol. v. 30.

Q.

Quinctilian, edited by Gesner, vol. iii. 193. vol. vi. 162.
Quotations, Mr. Gibbon's mode of making them, as represented by Mr. Davis, vol. v. 8.

R.

Raleigh (Sir Walter), remarks on his death, vol. vii. 185. 214. *note* 4.

Randolph (Dr.), contraſted with Mr. Davis, vol. v. 92. With Dr. Watſon, 84.

Raynal, his Hiſtory of the Office of Stadtholder, vol. iii. 283, vol. vi. 255.

Reading, the mode of doing it with advantage, vol. iii. 1, vol. vi. 73.

Reaumur, his Natural Hiſtory of Bees, vol. iii. 254. vol. vi. 225. His Art of hatching Eggs, vol. iii. 285. vol. vi. 256.

Religion, determined by the majority of a community, vol. iii. 9. vol. vi. 82. The difficulty of arriving at the knowledge of it, vol. iv. 180. vol. vii. 123. Reaſon but of little uſe in the inquiry, vol. iv. 183. vol. vii. 126. The Greek of Egyptian origin, *ibid.* The Egyptian allegorical, *ibid.* Of the worſhip of heroes, vol. iv. 184. vol. vii. 127. The opinions of ſavages upon the ſubject confuſed, vol. iv. 186. vol. vii. 129. The generation and hierarchy of the gods, vol. iv. 189. vol. vii. 133. The gods of human life, vol. iv. 190. vol. vii. 134. The ſyſtems of liberty and neceſſity, *ibid.* The latter adopted by the ancients, *ibid.* Union of the two ſpecies of divinities, vol. iv. 191. vol. vii. 135. Were ſubject to human paſſions, *ibid.* Had their partialities, *ibid.* And their conteſts, vol. iv. 194. vol. vii. 136. Aſſumed the human form, vol. iv. 194. vol. vii. 137. And were ſubject to bodily pains and pleaſures, *ibid.*

Renée, her character, vol. v. 219.

Richard (the Firſt, of England), conſidered as a ſubject for hiſtory, vol. iii. 18. vol. vi. 91.

Richer, his voyage to Peru, vol. iii. 282. vol. vi. 254. His Parallel of the Arundelian Marbles, &c. vol. iii. 286. vol. vi. 258. His Moſes defended againſt Appian, vol. iii. 288. vol. vi. 260. His Diſſertation on Uſher's Chronology, vol. iii. 291. vol. vi. 262.

Rinaldo (the Firſt), account of, vol. v. 243.

Roman roads and highways conſidered, vol. iv. 8. vol. vii. 8. The marches of their armies noticed, vol. iv. 22. vol. vii. 23. Their triumphs minutely examined, vol. iv. 40. vol. vii. 42. The right of triumph conſidered, vol. iv. 41. vol. vii. 43. And the authority by which it was conferred, *ibid.* The perſons on whom, vol. iv. 43. vol. vii. 45. The reaſons for which

which it was granted, vol. iv. 46. vol. vii. 49. The gate through which they paſſed, vol. iv. 59. vol. vii. 62. The triumphal ſhows and ceremonies, vol. iv. 70. vol. vii. 73.
Romans, their conduct to Perſeus and Jugurtha contraſted, vol. iv. 72. vol. vii. 76. The reaſons for the difference, *ibid.* Controverſy regarding the firſt five centuries of Rome, examined, vol. iv. 159. vol. vii. 99. Reflexions on that controverſy, vol. iv. 163. vol. vii. 103.
Rutilius Numantianus, his Poem minutely examined, vol. iii. 257. vol. vi. 229.

S.

Salmaſius, his character contraſted with that of Grotius, vol. iii. 1. vol. vi. 73.
Saurin's pleading againſt Rouſſeau, vol. iii. 246. vol. vi. 217.
Saville (Sir Henry), his edition of *Scriptores poſt Bedam*, vol. v. 252.
Savornin (Mr. de), his *Sentimens d'un Homme de Guerre*, vol. iii. 65.
Scarron's Works, vol. iii. 292. vol. vi. 264.
Schedius, De Diis Germanis, vol. iii. 213. vol. vi. 183.
Schultens, the Eloge of, vol. iii. 285. vol. vi. 256.
Sciences, their connexion with one another pointed out, vol. iv. 167. vol. vii. 107. Not indebted to luxury for their exiſtence, vol. iv. 197. vol. vii. 141.
Sectanus, his Satires, vol. iii. 176. vol. vi. 144.
Seiz (Mr.) his Jubilee of Printing, vol. iii. 209. vol. vi. 178.
Silius Italicus, his Catalogue examined, vol. iv. 6. vol. vii. 6.
Spain, ſtate of, in the tenth century, vol. iv. 79. In the eleventh, 85. In the twelfth, 89. In the thirteenth, 99. In the fourteenth, 108. In the fifteenth, 123.
Spanheim, De Præſtantia & Uſu Numiſmatum, examined, vol. iii. 277. 279. 284. 294. 296. 300. vol. vi. 249, 250. 255. 266, 267. 271.
Stebbing's Defence of Chriſtianity, vol. iii. 288. vol. vi. 260.
Strabo, examined, vol. iii. 266. vol. vi. 238.
Suetonius, edited by Oudendorp, vol. iii. 287. vol. vi. 259.
Sulpicius Severus, tranſlation of a paſſage of, juſtified, vol. v. 31.
Sulpitia, her Satire examined, vol. iii. 147. vol. vi. 114.
Switzerland, the eſtabliſhment of its government, in the fourteenth century, vol. iv. 104.

T.

Tacitus, parallel between, and Livy, vol. iv. 177. vol. vii. 119.
Tartar Conquerors, some account of, in the thirteenth century, vol. iv. 92.
Taylor's Dissertation, vol. iii. 236. vol. vi. 207.
Telemachus, character of, vol. iv. 210. Compared with Sethos, vol. vii. 208, *note* 19.
Terrasson, his Sethos characterized, vol. iii. 126. Compared with Telemachus, vol. vii. 208. *note* 96.
Tertullian, quotation from, vol. v. 27. and the name of the Treatise rectified, 28. Account of, and reason for quoting, his writings, 29
Thebæan Legion, dissertation on the martyrdom of, vol. iii. 268. vol. vi. 239.
Thomas, his Eloge on the Duke of Sully, vol. iii. 281. vol. vi. 252.
Tiberius, his age the most vicious of antiquity, vol. iv. 176. vol. vii. 119.
Tillemont, his *Histoire des Empereurs*, vol. iii. 106. His compilations mentioned with praise, vol. v. 71.
Timur, or *Tamerlane*, account of, vol. iv. 110. 112.
Tollius, his edition of Longinus, vol. iii. 93. *Gustus Animadversionum Criticarum*, 121.
Tranquebar, missions to, vol. iii. 248. vol. vi. 219.
Trembley (Mr.), his Researches on the Polypus, vol. iii. 251. vol. vi. 222.
Turks, their conquests in the fourteenth century, vol. iv. 109. Their conduct in the fifteenth, 112.
Turretin Alphonso, his Eloge by Vernet, vol. iii. 159. vol. vi. 127.

V.

Vaillant, his book on Medals, vol. iii. 300. vol. vi. 272.
Valois, his Dissertation on the Amphictyons, vol. iii. 76.
Vegetius's Institution, vol. iii. 251. vol. vi. 222.
Venice, the league of Cambray against, vol. v. 212.
Venuti's Discoveries at Herculaneum, vol. iii. 290. vol. vi. 262.
Vernet, his Eloge on Alphonso Turretin, vol. iii. 159. vol. vi. 127. His Letters on the Pronoun Thou, vol. iii. 291. vol. vi. 263.

Vertot's Sentiments on the Social War, combated, vol. iii. 215. vol. vi. 186.

Veſuvius, Hiſtory of, by the Academy of Naples, vol. iii. 235. vol. vi. 206.

Viani's account of Mezzabarba's voyage to China, vol. iii. 194. vol. vi. 163.

Virgil, his Æneid examined by Dr. Hurd, vol. iii. 32. His ſtory of Niſus and Euryalus compared with the night-adventure in the Iliad, 61. The deſcription of the ſhield compared with that in the Iliad, 71. His tomb, different opinions concerning, vol. iii. 242. vol. vi. 213. His Georgics tranſlated by Martyn, vol. iii. 270. vol. vi. 241. His Works edited by Heinſius and Burman, vol. iii. 271. vol. vi. 243. His Catalogue praiſed, vol. iv. 2. vol. vii. 2. His ſtory of Mezentius examined, vol. iv. 3. vol. vii. 3. His deſcription of the Temple of Janus, vol. iv. 67. vol. vii. 70. The neceſſity of being acquainted with the ſtate of Rome, its infancy, and its ſplendor, to underſtand his beauties, vol. iv. 151. vol. vii. 91. His addreſs in the conduct of the Æneid, vol. iv. 152. vol. vii. 92. His Georgics, vol. iv. 153. vol. vii. 92. The purpoſe for which they were written, *ibid.* His anachroniſms compenſated by his beauties, vol. iv. 165. vol. vii. 106. The inſtance of Mezentius ſlain by Aſcanius, *ibid.* The Epiſode of Dido examined and juſtified, vol. iv. 166. vol. vii. 107. The interpretation of the 6th Æneid by Biſhop Warburton, examined and cenſured, vol. iv. 199. An account of that interpretation, 200. The nature and plan of the Æneid conſidered, 204. The character of Æneas examined, 205. His diſcourſe with Anchiſes, in the infernal regions, 214. His account of Æneas's deſcent, 219. The epiſode of the infernal ſhades borrowed from Homer, 223. Its beauties pointed out, *ibid.* The reaſons why Virgil has not recorded, in his 6th Æneid, the ſecret of the Eleuſinian Myſteries, 224. His Life, prefixed to Holdſworth's Remarks, mentioned with praiſe, vol. vii. 209. *note* 67. To prove that he did not reveal the ſecret of the myſteries, a paſſage from an ode of Horace is quoted, vol. iv. 228. The Ivory Gate, in the 6th Æneid, attempted to be explained, 237.

Vivonnes (Duke of), his obſervation to Lewis the XIVth, vol. iii. 1. vol. vi. 73.

Voltaire, his Age of Lewis XIV. characterized, vol. iii. 88. His poem, entitled, *What moſt pleaſes Woman*, examined,

vol. iii. 280. vol. vi. 252. His Treatise on Toleration con-
sidered, vol. iii. 289. vol. vi. 261.
Vossius (Isaac), his Dissertation on the Magnitude of Ro-
vol. iii. 276. vol. vi. 145. His character, vol. iii.
vol. vi. 150.

W.

Warburton (Bishop), his interpretation of Virgil's sixth Ænei
minutely examined and censured, vol. iv. 199.
Watson (Dr.), account of the difference of opinion betwe
him and Mr. Gibbon, on the subject of the Fifteenth a
Sixteenth Chapters of the Decline and Fall, vol. v.
One passage of Mr. Gibbon examined and explained, 78.
Wesseling, his *Itineraria Vetera*, vol. iii. 130. vol. vi. 97. H
Discourse on the Inscription of Berenice, vol. iii.
vol. vi. 128. His Treatise on a passage of Victor Tun unen
vol. iii. 166. vol. vi. 134.
Wetstein's edition of the New Testament, vol. iii. 288.
vol. vi. 259. 264.

Z.

Zingis Khan, some account of, vol. iv. 92.

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